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(ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION)

CONTEMPORARY DEMOGRAPHIC MOVEMENTS
UNDERLYING
CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

BY

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PART I. POPULATION TRENDS

a. The Historical Perspective.

A graph of Canada's population growth over the past three and a half centuries leaves two impressions with the casual observer. The first is of a slowly rising trend from the beginning of the 17th to the latter part of the 18th century, followed by a steeply rising trend from the opening of the 19th century to the present time. This impression is quite correct. (See Chart 1). The second is one of fairly uniform rates of growth over each of the aforementioned periods. This latter impression derives from the method of graphic presentation which focusses attention on long term results, and is both erroneous and misleading. For no considerable period has Canada's population increased at a uniform rate. Its manner of growth has been decidedly cyclical, as may be seen from Chart 2 and Appendix Table 1. The cycles appear most clearly in the curve showing the 20-year percentage increases.

Four distinct peaks occur; the first centering on 1721, the second on 1791, a third on 1831, and a fourth on 1911. These peaks are associated with certain important events in history. That of 1721 followed the Treaty of Utrecht. It was the result of internal growth. Peace brought unusually high marriage and birth rates, and a period of freedom from major epidemics and war casualties. (1) The peak of 1791 is largely attributable to the influx of Loyalists after the American Revolution, and of other settlers from south of the border seeking a land of greater economic promise; (2) that of 1831 to depressed wages, surplus agricultural population, political unrest and potato famines on the other side of the Atlantic, to cheap fares across the Atlantic and to free land and improved communications on this side. The inward movement was stimulated and directed by the settlement schemes of Selkirk, Talbot, and Macdonnell, and especially by the publicity and other promotional activities of the great Land Companies and steamship agents of the day. The peak of 1911 is associated with the building of railways and the opening of the West.

Each peak was followed by a period of declining rates of growth, three of the four declines being both drastic and prolonged. The magnitudes of the declines are more accurately portrayed by the decennial rates which are less influenced by smoothing. After the 1721 peak the rate fell sharply for five decades to a figure less than two-fifths that at the top of the cycle. The decline after 1831 ran to six decades from a high of 52.4 percent to a low of 11.2 percent. Indeed, Mr. M.C. MacLean concludes that sometime between 1891 and 1896 "the rate of increase of the population of Canada must have reached almost the vanishing point". (3) The 1911 peak already has been followed by three decades of continued recession; the 1941 census records a drop for the decade 1931-41 to less than one-third the 1901-11 figure -- a rate of growth appreciably below current native increase.

From the point of view of post-war reconstruction, the significance of the facts presented in this brief historical survey would seem to be two-fold: (1) the present movement in the rate of population growth in Canada is, and for some decades has been, definitely downward; and (2), insofar as past experience may be taken as a guide, a reversal in that movement would seem to depend on the appearance of some important new factor or factors in the post-war situation.

Just what kind of a world will emerge after the war is, of course, far from clear. That there will be changes seems certain. That Canada will have some part in determining their nature also seems assured. How such possible changes are likely to affect this country populationwise may perhaps best be judged against the background of a more detailed study of the direction, manner and determinants of growth in the more recent past.

(1) See Georges Langlois: Histoire de la Population Canadienne Francoise, pp. 121, 223 and Appendix VII.

(2) See Hansen, Marcus Lee: The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Chapters III and IV.

(3) 1931 Census, Volume I, pp. 119, footnote.

b. The Last Century⁽¹⁾

1851-1861:

The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was signed in 1854, providing reciprocal inland navigation privileges, reciprocal privileges in the fisheries and free trade in the main products of land, sea, forest and mines. Tariffs on manufactured goods were moderate. Trade flourished.

The population of Canada (including Indians) increased by more than 790,000 or 32.6 percent, a rate of growth not since equalled except in 1901-11. The immigrant population increased by about 220,000 in the decade, accounting for over a quarter of the total population increase during the ten years -- a proportion since exceeded only once (1901-11). Immigrant additions outnumbered arrivals of intending settlers by over 70,000, indicating that many immigrants in transit to the United States were attracted by economic opportunities offered in this country, and decided to remain. While immigrant gains were abnormally heavy as compared with those of the five subsequent decades, the losses of native Canadians by emigration to the United States were abnormally light, amounting to less than 120,000. Obviously conditions in Canada were very favourable to the absorption of increased population in this decade.

In growing, population did not move out to new and unsettled areas, but swelled the densities of the old.

1861-1871:

This decade was marked by the American Civil War, the adoption of "a policy of incidental protection" by Canada (20 percent on manufactured goods), the abrogation of the Treaty of Reciprocity by the United States in 1865, and the erection by the States of tariff barriers against Canadian exports. The period was one of economic stress and re-adjustment.

The population of Canada increased by less than 460,000 as against 790,000 in the previous ten years. The rate of increase fell from 32.6 percent to 14.2 percent. Despite the arrival of nearly 180,000 intending settlers, the immigrant population in Canada actually decreased by over 90,000. Emigration of native Canadians to the United States was over double that in the previous decade. During this decade Canada had available for settlement, from native increase and immigration, more than twice the number of persons she was actually able to absorb. A total of nearly half a million immigrants and native Canadians left the country.

Apart from the movement of some 50,000 persons into Western Canada the shifts of population, unlike those in the preceding ten years, were predominantly from the more thickly settled to the more thinly settled contiguous parts of the eastern provinces.

1871-1881:

This decade opened with two or three years of relative prosperity and growing export trade, particularly with Great Britain; but the depression of the seventies rapidly spread from Great Britain and the United States to Canada and six years of economic stagnation preceded the adoption of the National Tariff of 1879. Throughout the decade, the United States was relatively more prosperous than her neighbor to the north.

Over the ten year period the population of the Dominion increased by 636,000, or 17.2 percent, as against 460,000, or 14.2 percent in the previous decade. The immigrant arrivals (intending settlers) almost doubled, but by the end of the decade only one in five remained in Canada. Immigrant gains just about offset deaths among immigrant settlers already residing in the country. Emigration of native Canadians to the United States exceeded

(1) This section is based largely on Analysis of the Stages in the Growth of Population in Canada, by M.C. MacLean, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Re-produced 1931 Census, Volume I, Chapter I. The statements in this summary are amply supported by careful and detailed statistical analysis.

279,000. During the decade, Canada had available for settlement almost twice the number of persons she was actually able to absorb. Losses through emigration to the United States and elsewhere exceeded 540,000.

The manner of population spread was very similar to that in the previous decades, though there was a much lighter movement to the West. The movement from areas of high density in the East to contiguous areas of low density continued, and began to make its appearance even from areas of moderate density.

1881-1891:

This was another period of economic depression in Canada. Foreign trade fell below the low levels of the previous decade. Manufacturers were still hampered by a small and stagnant local market. Farmers suffered from falling prices. The C.P.R. was pushed through to the coast in 1885, but its completion failed to relieve the depression. South of the border, the industrial centres were prosperous and growing and the westward trek into the prairie states continued.

During this decade the population of the Dominion increased by only 508,000, or 11.8 percent, the lowest rate since 1851. Despite the depression, arrivals of intending settlers exceeded those in the previous decade by two and a half times, reaching the unprecedented total of 886,000. Of this number, only about one in nine remained in Canada at the end of the decade. Emigration of native Canadians to the United States reached an all time peak of 335,000. In this ten-year period, there were available for settlement in Canada three times the number of persons the country was able to absorb. Total losses through emigration were well in excess of a million.

During this decade the internal movement, apart from a relatively small overflow into half a dozen very thinly settled counties on the periphery of inhabited areas in Ontario, was (1) toward the Northwest and (2) into the cities. Increases in the Northwest accounted for 36 percent of total additions to the Canadian population. There population more than doubled in the ten years. Approximately 60 percent of the increase was in Canadian born, the remaining 40 percent being of immigrant origin. The exodus from densely settled areas, which had first appeared in Quebec and later spread to Ontario, now for the first time made its appearance in the Maritimes.

1891-1901:

The first half of this decade was marked by deepening depression and further price declines; the second by rising prices, expanding trade and agricultural expansion in the West.

Against this mixed background, Canada's population increased by only 538,000 or 11.1 percent. Immigrant arrivals fell to 321,000, of whom over three fifths had left the country before 1901. Immigration contributed about 10 percent to the total population increase of the decade, as against about 8 percent in the preceding ten years and 2 percent between 1871 and 1881. Emigration of native Canadians to the United States continued at a high figure - 300,000. Total losses through out-migration (native and immigrant) amounted to approximately half a million - a number about equal to our net gain in population. Thus again in this decade Canada had available for settlement about twice the number she could absorb.

The decade recorded a definite change in the internal trend of movement. It may be divided into two sharply defined periods. The first was characterized by a continuation of the movement from the older settled areas into cities, as described for 1881-91; the second - a period of recovery for Canada as a whole - was marked by a trek into new areas in the East, and, of course, a much heavier trek to western Canada. About 55 percent of Canada's population increase occurred in the West, as against 36 percent in the previous decade.

1901-1911:

The turn of the century ushered in an era of phenomenal railway expansion, stimulated immigration, tremendous extension of agricultural settlement in the Prairie provinces, and of extractive industries generally in British Columbia. Canada as a whole was prosperous. Trade expanded.

During this ten year period the population of Canada increased by 1,835,000 - the greatest absolute increase in the Dominion's history. The percentage increase was 34.3, the highest rate since 1851-61. Immigrant arrivals rose to the unprecedented figure of 1,848,000, of whom well over half were resident in Canada at the close of the decade. (Mr. M.C. MacLean has demonstrated, however, that many of these failed to become permanent residents.)⁽¹⁾ Of the net additions to Canada's population during the decade, immigration provided the amazingly high proportion of about 48 percent; native increase provided 52 percent. Net emigration of native Canadians to the United States was relatively small. Yet total losses through emigration (native and immigrant combined) were just under a million, indicating that even in this period of phenomenal expansion, Canada had about a third more people than she could absorb.

The trend of movement continued predominantly westward and city-ward. The four western provinces accounted for almost 60 percent of the total population increase in Canada. In the East, 11 counties containing cities accounted for two thirds of the increase, the remainder going to new settlements in thinly populated outlying districts.

1911-21:

The first years of this decade witnessed continued expansion in the West and general prosperity in Canada as a whole. Then came the war with rapidly rising agricultural and other prices and feverish activity in war industries.

The population of Canada in this decade increased both absolutely and relatively less rapidly than in the preceding ten years. Net additions totalled 1,581,000 or 21.9 percent, of whom immigrants contributed only 369,000 or about 23 percent. Immigrant arrivals during the decade were almost as great as between 1901 and 1911, but Canada was able to retain less than one third of these intending settlers. Net emigration of native Canadians to the United States fell to an all-time low. Nevertheless, during this decade Canada had available for settlement a surplus of 8 persons for every 10 she absorbed.

The growth of 1911-21 was much more evenly distributed than was that in 1901-11. The western provinces accounted for only 46 percent of the increase. In the East the movement continued to be city-ward and toward the newer outlying areas.

1921-31:

The third decade of the century was one of re-adjustment from a war to a peace-time economy. The post-war boom was speedily followed by a short but severe depression. The latter part of the period was characterized by increasing business activity, culminating in the 1929 boom. The decade closed with the depression well under way and unemployment increasing at an unprecedented rate. In the latter part of the period agriculture suffered particularly severely because of over-expansion during and after the war, increasing surpluses, falling prices and restricted markets.

In this decade Canada's population increased by 1,589,000, about the same number as during the previous ten years, but at a lower rate of

(1) 1931 Census, Volume I, pp. 122-123.

increase, viz. 18.1 percent. Immigrant arrivals were somewhat fewer than in the previous two decades but still exceeded 1,500,000, two fifths of whom remained in the country until 1931. Of the total increase in population, immigrant additions constituted about 22 percent. Emigration of native Canadians to the United States was heavy. Again in this decade, Canada had available for settlement a surplus of about 8 persons for every 10 she absorbed.

The growth of 1921-31 was still more evenly distributed than in 1911-21. The western provinces accounted for only 36 percent of the total increase in Canada. In the East increases were shared more evenly by the different counties than at any time since the beginning of the century. "The spread, when it was not into cities, towns and villages, was either into small unincorporated villages or was a return to farms of persons who did not give farming as their occupation."

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A number of significant facts emerge from this detailed description of the manner of growth of Canada's population during the past eight decades.

I. Canada's capacity to absorb increases of population has varied widely from decade to decade. It appears to have been dependent not only on internal conditions such as economic depression or alternately economic boom, associated, for instance, with the opening of the "last great West", but also on external conditions such as the relative measure of prosperity in the United States and the degree of access to foreign export markets generally.

II. At no time during the past 80 years was the rate of population growth limited by a shortage of potential settlers. Over the period as a whole, Canada had available for settlement (immigrants and natives combined) not far from twice the number the country was actually able to absorb. (Chart 3.)

III. When conditions were favourable to the absorption of large numbers of immigrants, they were also favourable to the absorption of a large proportion of our own natural increase. Emigration of native Canadians to the United States was small. On the other hand, when conditions were unfavourable to the absorption of immigrants they were also unfavourable to the absorption of native Canadians, and emigration of Canadian-born to the States was large. (Chart 4.)

IV. In the past, there has been no close adjustment between the number of immigrant arrivals and the capacity of the country to absorb them. There has always been a surplus beyond our needs. Some surplus may have been necessary and desirable to offset the inevitable proportion of misfits. But for the most part, the surplus exceeded any reasonable allowance for such purpose, and the wide fluctuations in the proportions we were able to retain argues an absence of any deliberate or effective control. For example, in the decade 1881-91, for every 10 immigrants arriving in the country as intending settlers 9 left before the end of the decade; for every 10 arriving between 1891 and 1901, 6 left; in the decade 1901-11 the number was $4\frac{1}{2}$, between 1911 and 1931 the proportion leaving rose again to 6 or 7. (Chart 5.)

V. During the 80 years under review, the United States served as a safety valve, drawing off our surplus population as conditions required. In the nineteen twenties this avenue of escape was virtually denied to immigrants by the quota laws; in 1930 it was definitely closed to all, Canadian born and immigrant alike, by administrative action. The implications of this change in American policy merit careful attention.

c. The Last Decade: The Closing of the American Border.

I. In the eight decades prior to 1931, the United States took at least 1,740,000 native Canadians whom we were unable to hold in Canada under the conditions then existing. The true figure was probably considerably higher. (See footnote 3, Appendix Table III.) In addition, she relieved us of the large portion of our immigrant surplus of 4,370,000. (See Appendix Table II.) Between 1881 and 1891, and in each of the first three decades of the present century, the out-migration from Canada, natives and immigrants, combined, exceeded a million. These figures are large and the barring of this important and convenient avenue of escape to the south leaves Canada with the choice between adjusting immigrant inflow more closely to the immediate and prospective requirements of the country, or facing recurring periods of internal population pressure and unemployment greater than anything we have experienced in the past.⁽¹⁾ It is doubtful whether our economic and political institutions could stand the strain.

II. Whether the closing of the northern border is to be regarded as a permanent feature of American policy is not clear. That the present policy is likely to continue over the post-war period of demobilization and transition to a peace-time economy seems reasonable to expect; and even from the long term point of view, it is difficult to see how the United States could permit sufficiently free entry of European immigrants from Canada to absorb surpluses or anything like the scale she has done in the past, without permitting more or less unrestricted entry of such immigrants direct from abroad. There are many reasons for believing that the United States will not again revert to such a policy.

III. A much more probable modification of the present policy would be the removal or reduction of barriers against native Canadians moving to the United States, coupled with the retention of quota laws similar to those in existence for the past fifteen years against immigration from abroad. This would involve in substance a reversion to the situation existing between 1924 and 1930. The possible effects of this compromise on Canada's population growth are worth considering.

If at the same time, Canada were to maintain her present highly restrictive immigration policy, the populations of the two countries might be regarded as approximating a single unit. Canadians and Americans would move back and forth across the international border on the appearance of significant differences in economic opportunity in the two countries. In view of the more advanced and diversified industrial development in the United States, the superior attractive power of her numerous large cities, and the generally lower range of fertility rates prevailing in that country, the balance of movement might well be, as in the past, definitely against Canada. In this case, our rate of population growth would fall below that in recent decades. It would be lower than if Canada were to remain on a self-contained basis population-wise, since we would be losing part of our native increase without compensating additions from abroad. The only apparent alternative to an adverse population balance under the assumed conditions would seem to be the ensuring of a relatively high level of prosperity for Canada through the opening of favourable and extensive export markets for the surplus raw materials and processed products which we are

(1) Decennial figures do not tell the whole story. In the past, immigration has been poorly timed. In the decade 1921-31, Mr. M.C. MacLean finds that "immigration occurred during low unemployment but kept up until unemployment rose almost to the peak." The researches of Jerome in the United States indicate that this has been the normal rather than the exceptional experience when heavy inflows of immigrants to this continent have occurred. This circumstance has served to increase unemployment during the ensuing depressions. See 1931 Census Monograph No. 11 on Unemployment, pp. 29-30.

now producing or are capable of producing from natural resources as yet undeveloped. Such a policy would stimulate capital imports.

If, on the other hand, Canada were to encourage immigration from abroad and the door to the south were opened to Canadian-born but closed to European immigrants, our Canadian population would probably grow somewhat faster than without immigration, but more native Canadians would emigrate to the United States during the ensuing period of depression and unemployment. The final result would depend on all the circumstances affecting the situation and cannot be determined by a priori reasoning.

IV. One should also mention the possibility and perhaps the necessity of Canada and the United States arriving at some common understanding regarding immigration from abroad in the face of possible post-war pressure on both countries to permit the entry of large numbers of the surplus population from the devastated countries of Europe.

The upshot of the above discussion has been to emphasize two important facts:

(a) If the present restrictions on migration across the American border are retained in the reconstruction period after the war, as they seem likely to be, Canadian population policy, particularly with respect to immigration, must be much more carefully adjusted to Canada's absorptive capacity than has ever been the case in the past, if serious internal maladjustments are to be avoided.

(b) Any subsequent modifications of American immigration policy are likely to have important repercussions on the rate and manner of Canada's population growth.

d. Canada's Absorptive Capacity

There has been a good deal of misunderstanding concerning Canada's capacity to absorb new population. One reason derives from a failure to realize that in the boom years earlier in the century when 200,000 to 400,000 immigrants were arriving yearly, we were able to retain only a moderate portion of them as permanent settlers, and that such permanent immigrant additions as did occur were offset to a considerable extent by subsequent losses of native Canadians. Another reason is the misleading nature of the criteria used, two of which merit passing mention.

Low population density per square mile is often taken as prima facie evidence of great absorptive capacity. Such is far from being the case. Surface area is only one, and a decreasingly important aspect of the natural physical environment. Climate, topography, location, the physical constituents of the soil, subsurface supplies of minerals and fuels, and a number of other natural physical factors are equally as important as land area. Moreover, such an index entirely neglects the artificial physical environment, as well as technological, economic and social conditions which are of paramount importance in limiting population growth. Great open spaces per se are no criterion of population absorptive capacity.

Nor, in themselves, are great unused natural resources. It is only when a natural agent can be made to yield adequate returns on the capital and labour employed that it has any current economic significance or can be counted upon to support increased population.

The simplest and most satisfactory measure of absorptive capacity is afforded by successive censuses, which show the net increase of population in each decennial period. If, as we have seen, Canada has had, on an average, almost twice the number of recruits for her population that she could retain, the number she did retain would seem to be a fair measure of

her absorptive capacity under the then existing conditions. During the past nine decades, the average net yearly increase of population (compounding births, deaths, immigration and emigration) has been as shown in Table I.

As was pointed out above, during the first decade of the present century, the capacity of the Dominion to absorb population was increased by the building of railroads and the opening of the West, with abundant employment created by free land and the rapid extension of capital equipment. The annual net increase in this decade was the highest in our history (183,500). It sank to 158,100 in the ensuing ten years and remained at 158,900 between 1921 and 1931. Yet both of the latter decades were periods of comparative prosperity and expanding settlement.

The decade just completed (1931-41) was one of depression, unemployment and restricted export trade. Canada's absorptive capacity fell drastically. The 1941 Census figures just released record an annual rate of growth of only 104,300, which represents a decline of 34 percent from the preceding decade and actually falls short of our own natural increase by some 16,000 a year (or 160,000 for the decade). Moreover, it is not true to say that Canada possessed the capacity to provide productive employment for annual additions of even that number year by year throughout the decade. Until well towards its close, unemployment in the Dominion ran into the hundreds of thousands, and in most of the years heavy relief grants had to be paid to farmers in the West.

Chart 1.

White Population of Area Now Known as Canada
1611-1931.

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Ten and Twenty Year Rates of Increase in the White Population
of the Area now Known as Canada from each Decennium since 1681

Date	Percentage Increase from date in intervals of				
	10 years	20 years	Date	10 years	20 years
1681	16.9	65.0	1811	45.0	109.8
1691	41.1	82.7	1821	44.6	120.5
1701	29.4	88.2	1831	52.4	111.9
1711	45.4	104.5	1841	39.0	86.8
1721	40.6	84.3	1851	34.3	55.6
1731	31.1	57.7	1861	15.8	36.3
1741	20.3	52.5	1871	17.7	31.6
1751	26.7	47.8	1881	11.8	24.3
1761	16.6	66.6	1891	11.2	50.6
1771	42.8	121.9	1901	35.4	65.4
1781	55.3	141.3	1911	22.1	44.3
1791	55.3	121.8	1921	18.2	30.0
1801	42.8	107.1	1931	10.1	

Chart 3.

Potential Population Increase for Canada Sub-divided into Actual
Increase, and Withdrawals of Immigrants and of Canadian Born by
Decades, 1851-61 to 1921-31.

(Canadian-born losses, net to U.S.A. only)
(000 omitted)

Decade	Actual Increase	Withdrawals		Total
		Immigrant	Canadian Born	
1851-1861	793	-72	117	838
1861-1871	460	206	268	935
1871-1881	636	271	273	1,180
1881-1891	508	783	335	1,627
1891-1901	538	199	297	1,034
1901-1911	1,835	855	143	2,833
1911-1921	1,581	1,184	41	2,806
1921-1931	1,589	945	266	2,800

Potential Population Increase - Population in Canada and Available for
Settlement during the decade.

Chart 4.

Percentage Distribution of Potential Population Increase for Canada into Actual Increase and Withdrawals of Immigrants and of Canadian Born, by decades 1851-61 to 1921-31.

(Canadian born losses, net to U.S.A. only)
(000 omitted)

Decade	Actual Increase as percent of Potential Increase.	Immigrant Withdrawals as percent of Potential Increase	Canadian-Born Withdrawals as percent of
1851-1861	94.5	-8.5	14.0
1861-1871	49.2	22.1	28.7
1871-1881	53.9	23.0	23.1
1881-1891	31.3	48.2	20.5
1891-1901	52.1	19.2	28.7
1901-1911	64.8	30.2	5.0
1911-1921	56.3	42.2	1.5
1921-1931	56.7	33.8	9.5

*Potential Population Increase = Population in Canada and available for settlement during decade.

Chart 5.

Immigrant Withdrawals as Percentage of Immigrant Arrivals

(Intending Settlers) for Canada by Decades, 1851-61 to 1921-31.

Decade	Percentage
1851-1861	-35.4 *
1861-1871	116.0
1871-1881	79.5
1881-1891	88.3
1891-1901	61.8
1901-1911	46.3
1911-1921	68.5
1921-1931	62.6

*1851-1861 - 72,000 immigrants in transit to the U.S.A. remained in Canada, hence immigrant withdrawals negative.

TABLE I. Mean Annual Increase in the Population of Canada
by decades, 1851 - 1931.

<u>Decade</u>	Average net yearly increase in the population of Canada
1851 - 1861 ⁽¹⁾	79,300 ⁽¹⁾
1861 - 1871 ⁽¹⁾	46,000 ⁽¹⁾
1871 - 1881	63,600
1881 - 1891	50,800
1891 - 1901	53,800
1901 - 1911	183,500
1911 - 1921	158,100
1921 - 1931	158,900
1931 - 1941	104,300

- (1) "Manitoba, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories are only partially covered in 1851 and 1861. It is probable that these areas contained 100,000 persons, including Indians, who are not represented in the basic figures" from which the increase of these decades were derived. See 1931 Census, Volume 1, pp. 132.

SECTION II. THE REGIONAL PATTERN OF GROWTH

In the earlier analysis of growth by decades, incidental references were made to regional distribution. A more complete picture is provided by the summary Tables I. and II. and Chart 6.

An analysis of the figures in Tables I. and II. reveals the following facts:

1. For five decades following 1881, the Maritimes accounted for no significant portion of Canada's population growth. Indeed, the population of Prince Edward Island began actually to decline in the decade 1891-1901 and in 1931 was 20 percent smaller than in 1891. That of Nova Scotia was smaller in 1931 than in 1921. In 1931, that of New Brunswick was still growing, largely because of high birthrates (French), but at only one third to one quarter the rates obtaining in the provinces from Quebec west. Obviously, prior to 1931, the trend of growth was definitely away from the Maritimes. How far the revival of 1931-41 is attributable to a backing up of population owing to the depression and how far to war activity is not yet clear.

2. The two central provinces accounted for 75 percent of the increase in Canada during the first decade after Confederation. That proportion fell to 38 percent between 1901 and 1911, but by 1931-41 had risen again to 74 percent.

It is significant that the percentage rate of growth in Quebec was as high in 1921-1931 as in 1901-1911, and in Ontario actually higher, indicating that increased industrialization and urbanization has had as stimulating an effect on the population growth of these provinces as had the opening of the West two decades earlier.

3. For four decades prior to 1911, the proportion of Canada's population increase occurring in the West rose steadily from 9 percent to a peak figure of 60 percent in 1901-1911. By 1921-1931, that figure had fallen to 36 percent and by 1931-41 to 15 percent, thus completing the cycle.

Since 1901-1911, the percentage rate of growth in the Prairie Provinces has moved steeply downward, until between 1931 and 1941 it fell to 1.9 percent for the Prairie region as a whole. In the five year period 1931-1936 the Prairie region actually lost population equivalent to 63 percent of its natural increase; between 1936 and 1941, it lost all of its natural increase and 16,000 besides. On this point, Table IV. is instructive.

Even in the decade 1921-1931, the Prairie provinces were able to absorb only some 40,718, or 12 percent more than their natural increase; and since 1931 rather than providing an outlet for surplus population from elsewhere, they have been sending out a sizeable surplus of their own.

Obviously, the trend of population expansion has been away from the Prairies and the Maritimes⁽¹⁾ and predominantly toward the central provinces of Ontario and Quebec. That this is true of both native Canadian and immigrant increases will become clear when we examine the figures on inter-provincial migration of Canadian-born and on regional distribution of immigrant gains.

The inter-provincial migration of Canadian-born is summarized in Table V.⁽²⁾ During the first decade of the present century every province east of the Great Lakes experienced net losses of native born, while the four western provinces recorded net gains amounting in all to some 349,000. By 1921, the net gain to the West had increased to 375,000, indicating that the East had not only replaced the deaths occurring among the surplus easterners in the West, but had added 26,000 to the total. Then came a change. By 1931 the eastern balance in the four western provinces as a whole had declined by

(1) That is, prior to 1931-41.

(2) Source: This table and the ensuing discussion is based on Population Movements in Canada 1921-31, and their Implications by W.B. Hurd. *TS Canada* Papers and Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, Volume VI, 1934, pp. 222-224.

over 60,000 and that in the three Prairie provinces by 100,000. These figures make no allowance for deaths. When the appropriate corrections are made for losses through this cause, we get the following picture of net movement (of Canadian born) during the decade 1921-1931:

The Prairie provinces experienced an estimated net loss of native born to other provinces in Canada of approximately 66,000. Some of these went to British Columbia which gained 41,000, and the balance went east. Ontario and Quebec showed a net gain of about 45,000, part of whom came from the West and part from the Maritime provinces, which in turn lost to other provinces approximately 21,000.(1)

Obviously, the net migration of native Canadians from the two central provinces to the prairies had not only stopped by the decade 1921-1931, but had definitely reversed. Furthermore, the figures in Table III and Table IV leave no doubt that the eastward movement of native Canadians from the prairies has greatly increased during the decade just past (1931-1941).

The regional distribution of immigrant gains during the 1921-1931 decade tell the same story.

Rural Ontario alone accounted for as much as 63.5 percent of the rural immigrant increase between 1921 and 1931, (Table VI) though at the beginning of the decade it contained only 20.2 percent of the rural immigrant population in Canada. In contrast, western Canada accounted for only 29.2 percent of rural increase, although at the opening of the decade it contained nearly three-quarters of the rural immigrant population resident in the Dominion. The bulk of the rural immigrant additions in the West occurred in one province, Alberta, where occupied acreage increased 33 percent. (Chart 7.)

We have been so accustomed to think of rural immigration settling in the agricultural West that it comes as somewhat of a surprise to find that, despite considerable agricultural expansion in the Prairie provinces, the proportion of the intercensal increase in rural immigrants found in Ontario at the close of the decade was more than twice that in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta combined. A radical change appears to have taken place in the relative capacity of the East and the West to attract and hold rural immigrants.

The towns and cities of Ontario and Quebec accounted for nearly 64 percent of the increase in urban immigrant born over the ten year period, British Columbia for 22 percent, and the three Prairie provinces for only 15 percent. On the basis of the 1921 distribution of urban immigrants, the Maritimes and Prairie provinces fell far short of receiving their expected share of the increase during the ensuing decade, while Central Canada, and especially British Columbia, more than their share.

b. The Growth of Urbanization.

The trend of growth is toward the central provinces and urban British Columbia; it is also toward towns and cities generally, but more particularly toward those in the more industrialized sections of the Dominion. The measurement of this trend presents difficulties from a statistical point of view, since back through the years the Census has distinguished between urban and rural population on the basis of provincial incorporations, and there have been no uniform standards between provinces regarding either the population of area required before papers of incorporation are granted. These differences in standards, however, affect only places which may be described as on the margin of incorporation; and since in law or in practice the margin for incorporation is below 1000 in all provinces, and the proportion of Canada's population in incorporated places under that figure is less than 4 percent of the total, the error involved cannot be so great as appreciably to affect the general picture.(2)

-
- (1) It should be born in mind that this movement represents an internal shifting of native-born Canadians from province to province. The route taken, whether direct or via the United States, would seem to be immaterial. It is over and above any similar movement of foreign born.
 - (2) See 1931 Census Monograph No. 6. Rural and Urban Composition of the Canadian Population, S.A. Cudmore & H.G. Caldwell, pp. 43,46,48 and 95.

The percentages of the population of the Dominion rural and urban at each Census since 1871 are brought together in Table VII and the data are presented graphically in Chart 8. The percentage increases in the (1) rural and (2) urban population over that of 1871 as at subsequent Census dates are shown in Chart 9.

In the six decades under review, the proportion of Canada's population living in urban centres has increased 2.7 fold; the proportion rural has declined by over two fifths. In the thirty years between 1901 and 1931, the urban population of the Dominion grew by 177 percent, while the rural in the same thirty years (which included the period of great agricultural settlement in the West) grew by only 43 percent. (1) Clearly the trend of growth in Canada, as in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Japan and most other growing commercial and industrial countries, has been definitely cityward. (2) The same is true of all provinces of Canada, as will be seen from Table VIII.

If one compares the figures for 1921 and 1931 in Table VIII, it will be seen that during this decade, the last for which data are available urbanization proceeded three to four times faster in Quebec and British Columbia than in Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and six to seven times faster than in the Maritimes generally. Urbanization has already proceeded about twice as far in Quebec and Ontario as in the Maritimes; the western provinces occupy an intermediate position with Saskatchewan the most rural and British Columbia by far the most urban.

The fact that in the Prairie provinces the percentage urban declined in the five year depression period 1931-1936 does not mean that the rural-urban exodus stopped. After 1929, there was a back-to-the-land movement as in the United States. In that country, however, the movement reversed by 1933 (3), and something similar must have occurred in Canada because, as will be shown later, over the five year period as a whole, rural-urban migration from the Prairie provinces was at least double the rate obtained in the previous decade. The explanation of the decline in the urban percentage is to be found rather in the fact that in their endeavor to escape from the relatively more severely depressed economy of the West, urban population moved away from the Prairie region more rapidly than did the rural.

Before concluding this discussion, a word of caution might not be out of place. Data on rural-urban distribution should not be taken as a measure of the relative dependence of the populations of the several provinces on farming as against all other occupations. Changing occupational trends are examined in a subsequent section of this report, but to avoid possible misunderstanding of the rural-urban figures, it should be pointed out that while in all provinces, agriculture is the most important single rural occupation, in some areas trapping and fishing, logging and mining etc. are of considerable, and in certain cases, of growing importance. The 1931 Census, for the first time permits an accurate segregation of the farm from the non-farm population. (See Table IX). British Columbia, though less urban, has a considerably larger proportion classified as non-farm, than have either Ontario or Quebec. The provinces with the largest proportions on farms are Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan and Alberta in descending order.

-
- (1) See also 1931 Census, Volume 1, Table 11, pp. 155.
 - (2) Many of these countries are much more urbanized than Canada. In Great Britain, for instance, 80 percent of the population is urban. In the United States the proportion in urban centres 2500 and over was 56.2 percent in 1930. The proportion in all urban centres was, of course, appreciably higher.
 - (3) See O. E. Baker, The Outlook for Rural Youth, Extension Service Circular 203, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington.

c. The Sources of Urban Increase.

The tendency of urban population to grow more rapidly than rural is in itself significant from the point of view of post-war re-construction; of equal significance is the manner in which this growth has been achieved. The possible sources of urban increase are four: (1) excess of births over deaths in urban centres, (2) immigrant additions from rural Canada and abroad, (3) the rural-urban migration of Canadian born, and (4) new incorporations. Census tabulations for 1921 and 1931 for the first time permitted the segregation of the first three sources of urban growth and an examination of the nature and extent of population shifts incident to that growth. Data on incorporations are now available and are given in a footnote. (1)

(1) Urban Gains and Natural Increase:

In the decade 1921-1931 additions to urban population of Canada exceed urban natural increase by approximately 570,000 (all ages), or by 455,000 if allowance be made for additions through incorporation of new urban centres. In other words, the combined population of the urban centres of 1921 grew, in the subsequent ten years, about 85 percent faster than would have been possible had they been dependent solely on their own internal growth. Two provinces behaved contrary to the rule, viz. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They actually lost part of their urban natural increase. (2) The gains over natural increase in other centres were largely concentrated in three provinces viz. Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia, the two central provinces accounting for 66 percent, and all three combined, for 88 percent of the total. The proportion of the net surplus accruing to cities and towns in the Prairie region was of only moderate dimensions, amounting to less than half that for British Columbia alone. These gains to the urban population were from external sources; part came from the rural sections of Canada, part from foreign countries. (Appendix Table V and Chart 10.)

(2) Immigrant Additions:

That immigration contributed a fair share to the growth of urban communities may be demonstrated directly from the census. In 1921 the proportion of the immigrant population in Canada urban was 45.68 percent, as against 49.52 percent for the total population. (3) In 1931 the proportions were 51.42 percent and 53.70 percent respectively. (4) During the decade, the proportion urban for the immigrant population thus rose by 5.74 percent (51.42 percent - 45.68 percent); that for the total population by only 4.18 percent (53.70 percent - 49.52 percent). Obviously, during the ten year period the trend of immigration toward the towns and cities was even more marked than that for the Canadian born -- and this despite the continued efforts of the Federal government to encourage agricultural immigration. In every province east of Manitoba immigrants are already more urban than native Canadians, in Quebec, Ontario and Nova Scotia, materially so. In the West, they are still somewhat less urban than the Canadian born, but since 1921 in the Prairie region they have been urbanizing much more rapidly.

- (1) The subsequent discussion is based largely on two studies, viz. Population Movements in Canada 1921-1931, and their Implications, W.B. Hurd, Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, Volume VI, 1934; and Population Movements in Canada, 1921-1931, Some Further Considerations, W.B. Hurd and Jean C. Cameron, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science Volume 1, No.2, May 1935. In these articles no cognizance was taken of the shift of population from "rural" to "urban" through inter-censal incorporations. These figures are as follows:

<u>Population of Centres Incorporated between 1921-1931</u>			
Prince Edward Island	0	Manitoba	2,904
Nova Scotia	1,812	Saskatchewan	10,027
New Brunswick	515	Alberta	7,711
Quebec	53,347	British Columbia	6,918
Ontario	33,183	TOTAL Canada	115,417

- (2) The two combined lost about 35,000 of their natural additions.
 (3) Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and Language of the Canadian People, 1921 Census Monograph, W.B. Hurd, King's Printer, Ottawa, pp. 111.
 (4) Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, 1931 Census Monograph No. 4, W.B. Hurd. King's Printer, Ottawa. pp.93.

the first of the two main parts of the work, the first part is devoted to a general survey of the history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day. The second part is devoted to a detailed account of the history of the United States, from the first settlement of the country to the present day. The work is written in a clear and concise style, and is well illustrated with maps and diagrams. It is a valuable work for anyone interested in the history of the world and the United States.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and development. It begins with the first settlement of the country by the Pilgrims in 1620. The Pilgrims were a group of English Puritans who had come to America in search of a better life. They founded the town of Plymouth in Massachusetts, and their story is one of the most famous in American history. The Pilgrims were joined by other settlers, and the United States grew from a small colony to a great nation. The United States has a long and rich history, and it is a country that has made many contributions to the world. The United States is a country of freedom and opportunity, and it is a country that has made many great achievements. The United States is a country that is proud of its history and its future.

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(3) Rural-Urban Migration as a Source of Urban Gains:

The term "net rural-urban migration" as here used represents the net movement away from rural parts, or, in other words, the amount by which the gross movement from country to city exceeded the reverse movement from city to country (including net rural immigration from abroad). It is really a surplus which the rural parts failed to absorb. The method of estimating it is set forth in the publications to which reference has already been made. (1) The figures here, however, are modified so as to make allowance for new incorporations, since the mere fact of changing the legal status of a community from rural to urban does not involve actual movement of population.

During the decade 1921-1931, there occurred a net outward migration from rural Canada of between 320,000 and 325,000 persons, apart from some 115,000 whose status was changed from rural to urban by new incorporations. The distribution of this exodus is shown in Appendix Table V-a and Chart 11, together with certain data of assistance in explaining it. (2)

What proportion of urban growth in the decade is accounted for by this rural-urban movement, and if Canada were on a self-contained basis populationwise, could urban centres be depended upon to attract and hold additions to their population equal to prospective rural surpluses?

The net additions to the urban population of 1921 from outside sources amounted to an estimated total of 455,000 (all ages); the net rural-urban exodus to 322,000. The net urban gain exceeded the net rural surplus by some 133,000. Thus urban population expansion was appreciably greater than urban natural increase and the general movement off the land combined.

(1) See footnote page 16.

(2) The relatively large rural surplus in the Maritimes is associated with significant decreases in occupied farm acreage and in persons gainfully employed in agriculture. The province of Quebec accounted for 50 per cent of the movement. Here rural birthrates were relatively high and agriculture was more or less static. The surplus was relatively small in Ontario, partly because of a much lower birthrate and partly because rural industries other than agriculture experienced great expansion. In the Prairie provinces, increasing farm acreage provided employment for growing numbers of agricultural workers, thus keeping the rural surplus within moderate bounds, despite relatively high rates of natural increase. In Manitoba, where agricultural expansion was slight and birthrates moderately high, the rural-urban movement was relatively heavier than elsewhere in the Prairie region. Saskatchewan's excess rural population constituted a smaller proportion of her 1921 rural population, an unusually high rate of natural increase notwithstanding. In that province, the percentage increase in occupied farm acreage was seven times greater than in Manitoba, and the increase in persons gainfully occupied in agriculture two and a half times greater. Rapid growth of agricultural settlement permitted the absorption of proportionately larger numbers in rural occupations. In Alberta, occupied acreage increased over 33 percent and persons employed on farms by more than 27 percent. Birthrates, though high, were lower than in Saskatchewan. The net result was that Alberta occupied the unique position of being the only province in Canada which was able to absorb additions to its rural population slightly in excess of its rural natural increase. A one-third increase in farm acreage was required to make this achievement possible. British Columbia experienced an agricultural expansion proportionately as great as in Saskatchewan, and other rural industries also were expanding. Prevailing birthrates were low. The rural exodus was small. In general, those parts of rural Canada where economic opportunities were expanding showed relatively smaller rural surpluses after due allowance is made for differences in prevailing birthrates, and vice versa.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the Americas, and continues through the years of exploration, settlement, and the struggle for independence. The story is one of a people who have built a great nation from a small group of pioneers.

The early years of the United States were marked by a period of rapid expansion. The country grew from a small group of colonies to a vast nation that stretched across the continent. This growth was driven by a combination of factors, including the desire for land, the search for new markets, and the need for a strong central government.

The struggle for independence was a defining moment in the history of the United States. It was a time when the colonies fought for their right to self-governance, and ultimately won their freedom from British rule. This struggle was a testament to the power of the American spirit.

The years following independence were a time of great achievement. The United States established a strong government, and began to build a reputation as a nation of freedom and opportunity. It was a time when the country was truly born, and its potential was beginning to be realized.

The history of the United States is a story of a people who have built a great nation from a small group of pioneers. It is a story of growth and change, of struggle and achievement. The United States has come a long way since its founding, and it continues to grow and change today. The story of the United States is a story of hope and possibility, and it is a story that we can all be proud of.

It does not follow, however, that urban industries displayed a corresponding capacity to absorb this increase and maintain it on a self-supporting basis. Only under the boom conditions of 1929 was this condition realized. At the date of the 1931 census, estimated unemployment among wage-earners in Canada was in the neighborhood of 440,000, (1), the bulk of whom were in urban occupations. When the dependents of the urban unemployed are taken into account, it becomes apparent that in June 1931, the number of urban residents economically unassimilated at that date exceeded the net rural-urban migration of the decade by probably twice, perhaps more. By January 1933, unemployment had increased to 718,000. (2)

Is the rural-urban exodus likely to increase or decrease? That depends upon a good many factors, which will be discussed later in this report, but the experience in the Prairie provinces between 1931 and 1936 should be recorded. The net rural-urban exodus in these five years of agricultural depression totalled 55,000, (3) as against an estimated net exodus of only 41,000 during the previous ten years -- and this over a period when urban unemployment was at exceedingly high levels. (4)

One final aspect of the city-ward movement requires analysis, viz., the relative contributions of the immigrants and the Canadian born. As has already been mentioned, there occurred during the decade (1921-1931) a very considerable net immigration from foreign parts. The net movement of immigrants into rural Canada is estimated at 183,000 including children aged up to nine years, after suitable allowance is made for new incorporations. (5) The presence of this excess of foreign(6)- born residents beyond expectation in the 1931 rural population indicates that an equivalent number of native-born Canadians had migrated in addition to the 321,600 appearing in Appendix Table V, making an estimated total net rural-urban exodus of 504,600 Canadian born all ages.

Again, the estimated net urban in-movement of immigrants corrected for new incorporations is 354,000 all ages. As stated above, the estimated net additions to the urban population of 1921 from outside sources amounted to 455,000. The difference, or 101,000, represents the net additions to urban population attributable to rural-urban migration of Canadian born. (7) If this figure is subtracted from the total net rural-urban exodus of Canadian born of 504,600 as shown above, there appears to have been a net emigration of Canadian born to the United States and other countries of some 404,000. Of the net additions to urban population from outside sources, immigration from abroad accounted for about 78 percent and immigration of Canadian born from rural Canada only 22 percent. (8)

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- (1) 1931 Census Monograph No. 11 - Unemployment by M. C. MacLean et al, Table 1, pp. 288.
 - (2) 1931 Census Monograph No. 11, Unemployment by M. C. MacLean et al. Table 1, pp. 288.
 - (3) No allowance made for incorporations. However, the error is small because there were few if any between 1931 and 1936. Both figures exclude children under 10 years in 1931.
 - (4) In June 1936, unemployed wage-earners still totalled 426,000.
 - (5) In making this correction it was assumed that the proportion of immigrants in the population of newly incorporated centres was the same as that in 1931 in the province in which the centre was located. On this basis about 29,000 out of the 115,000 population of newly incorporated centres were presumed to have been immigrants. The figure is just an approximation but it is close enough for the present purpose.
 - (6) Includes immigrants from British Isles and other British possessions.
 - (7) The balance left the Country or replaced urban native Canadians who left.
 - (8) This assumes that the balance of the rural surplus of native Canadians moved on out of the country. Many of them probably remained in urban centres and native Canadians from such centres emigrated in their stead.

Chart 6.

Percentage Distribution of Population Increases in Canada for
Specified Regions, by Decades 1871-1941.

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Maritimes</u>	<u>Ontario & Quebec</u>	<u>Western Canada</u>	<u>Total</u>
	%	%	%	
1871-1881	16	75	9	100
1881-1891	2	62	36	100
1891-1901	2	43	55	100
1901-1911	2	38	60	100
1911-1921	4	48	48	100
1921-1931	1-	63	36	100
1931-1941	11	74	15	100

Chart 7.

Percentage Distribution of Immigrants in Canada 1921, and of
Immigrant Increases 1921-1931, Rural and Urban, by Specified Regions.

Region	Rural		Urban	
	P.C. Distribution		P.C. Distribution	
	Immigrant Population 1921	Immigrant Increases 1921-1931	Immigrant Population 1921	Immigrant Increases 1921-1931
Maritimes	2.9	5.5	3.8	-0.8
Ontario & Quebec	22.9	65.3	57.7	63.8
Western Canada	74.2	29.2	38.5	37.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chart 8.

Rural and Urban Distribution of the Population of
Canada at each Decennial Census, 1871-1931.

Date	Percentage of Total Population	
	Urban	Rural
1871	19.58	80.42
1881	25.65	74.35
1891	31.80	68.20
1901	37.50	62.50
1911	45.42	54.58
1921	49.52	50.48
1931	53.70	46.30

Chart 9.

Rural and Urban Population of Canada at each Decennial Census as a Percentage of the Rural and Urban Population of 1871.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Percentage of 1871 Population</u>	
	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
1871	100	100
1881	108	154
1891	111	213
1901	113	279
1911	133	453
1921	150	603
1931	162	771

Chart 10.

Percentage Distribution of Estimate Net Urban Gains in Excess of Natural Increase by Provinces 1921-1931, and Net Urban Gains in Excess of Natural Increase as Percentage of Urban Population of 1921.
(Urban gains through incorporations deducted)

<u>Province</u>	<u>Percentage Distribution</u>	<u>P.C. of 1921 Urban Pop'n</u>
Prince Edward Island	0.2	4.1
Nova Scotia	-7.2	-12.3
New Brunswick	-2.9	-9.0
Quebec	34.6	10.2
Ontario	36.2	8.2
Manitoba	4.8	7.1
Saskatchewan	4.5	8.0
Alberta	3.4	6.0
British Columbia	26.4	41.5

Percentage Distribution of Estimated Rural-Urban Migration by
Provinces 1921-1931 and Rural-Urban Migration as Percentage of
Rural Population of 1921.

(Rural losses through incorporations deducted)

Province	Percentage Distribution	P.C. of 1921 Rural Pop'n
Prince Edward Island	3.5	14.7
Nova Scotia	14.6	14.3
New Brunswick	10.9	12.2
Quebec	50.1	14.1
Ontario	5.4	1.3
Manitoba	9.7	8.1
Saskatchewan	7.9	4.3
Alborta	-3.4	-2.7
British Columbia	1.0	1.0

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CHAPTER I	CHAPTER II	CHAPTER III
The first settlement in America	The discovery of America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America
The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America	The first voyage to America

TABLE II. Percentage Distribution of Population Increases in Canada
for Specified Regions, by Decades, 1871 - 1941. (1)

Period	Maritimes %	Ontario & Quebec %	Western Canada %
1871 - 1881	16	75	9
1881 - 1891	2	62	36
1891 - 1901	2	43	55
1901 - 1911	2	38	60
1911 - 1921	4	48	48
1921 - 1931	1-	63	36
1931 - 1941	11	74	15

TABLE III. Percentage Increase of Population of Canada & the Provinces
by Decades, 1871-1941, and for the Prairie Provinces 1921-1936. (2)

Period	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
1871 - 1881	17	16	14	12	14	19	147	--	--	36
1881 - 1891	12	0	2	0	10	10	145	--	--	98
1891 - 1901	11	-5	2	3	11	3	67	--	--	82
1901 - 1911	34	-9	7	6	22	16	81	439	413	120
1911 - 1921	22	-5	6	10	18	16	32	54	57	34
1921 - 1931	18	0	-2	5	22	17	15	22	24	32
1931 - 1941	10	7	12	11	15	9	3	-4	8	16
1931 - 1936	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	6	--

TABLE IV. Population Growth in the Prairie Provinces 1921-1931,
1931-1936, and 1936-1941. 9(3)

	1921-1931	1931-1936	1936-1941
Total Increase in Population	397,447	61,362	-16,304
Natural Increase	356,729	165,442	148,000 (4)
Net Immigration (+) Emigration (-) from Region	40,718	-104,080	-164,000

(1) Derived from 1931 Census, Volume 1, Table 2a, pp. 352-354 & 1941 Census Bulletin No. 20.
 (2) 1931 Census, Volume 1, Table 3a and 1936 Census of Prairie Provinces, and 1941 Census Bulletin No. 20.
 (3) Wanless, W. J., Prairie Population Possibilities. A study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 1939. pp. 44.
 (4) Only approximate. Figures for 1940 estimated.

TABLE V. Balance Sheet of Inter-provincial Migration of Canadian Born
as at the 1931, 1921 and 1911 Census Dates.

Province	Native born in Canada by province of birth, 1931.	Canad. born resident in province 1931 ^x	Net Gain or Loss [#] at Specified Census Dates		
			1931	1921	1911
P. E. I.	99,738	85,249	-14,489	-15,299	-12,754
N. S.	507,238	470,779	-36,459	-26,904	-20,645
N. B.	403,054	383,712	-19,332	-12,935	-12,423
Que.	2,696,210	2,621,273	-74,937	-98,943	-84,314
Ont.	2,794,718	2,624,250	-170,468	-221,820	-219,106
Man.	463,582	463,096	-486	+35,570	+54,101
Sask.	501,946	602,220	+100,274	+141,857	+133,832
Alta.	336,670	425,167	+88,497	+102,012	+81,593
B. C.	247,739	373,849	+126,110	+95,954	+78,703

^x The figures shown in this column are smaller than those shown in the census by virtue of the deduction of persons failing to state province of birth. These amounted to 6,521 in 1931, 18,368 in 1921, and 23,502 in 1911.

[#] Minus sign (-), signifies net loss; plus sign (+), net gain. Total gains and losses do not exactly balance because of the omission of the Yukon and North West Territory.

TABLE VI. Percentage Distribution of Immigrant Gains, Rural and Urban,
by Provinces, 1921 - 1931.

Province	RURAL		URBAN	
	Percentage Distribution of Resident Immi- grants, 1921	Immigrant In- creases, 1921-31	Percentage Distribution of Resident Immi- grants, 1921	Immigrant In- creases, 1921-31
P. E. I.	0.2)	0.3)	#)	0.1)
N. S.	1.4) 2.9	0.6) 5.5	2.8) 3.8	-0.8) -0.8
N.B.	1.3)	4.6)	0.9)	-0.1)
Que.	2.7)	1.8)	15.1)	22.2)
Ont.	20.2) 22.9	63.5) 65.3	42.6) 57.7	41.6) 63.8
Man.	12.9)	2.7)	10.2)	4.3)
Sask.	25.0)	3.2)	7.8)	5.9)
Alta.	20.3) 74.2	24.5) 29.2	9.1) 38.5	5.2) 37.0
B. C.	15.8)	-1.7)	11.4)	21.6)
Y.&N.W.T.	0.2)	0.5)	#)	-)
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Derived from 1931 Census, Volume I, Table 256, pp.540.

Minus (-) sign signifies decrease

Signifies less than 0.1 percent.

TABLE VII. Rural and Urban Distribution of the Population of Canada at each Decennial Census, 1871 - 1931.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Population</u>	
	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
1871	19.58	80.42
1881	25.65	74.35
1891	31.80	68.20
1901	37.50	62.50
1911	45.42	54.58
1921	49.52	50.48
1931	53.70	46.30

Source: 1931 Census Monograph No. 6, pp. 43.

TABLE VIII. Percentage of Population Urban by Provinces, 1901 - 1931, and for the Prairie Provinces in 1936.

<u>Province</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1936</u>
P. E. I.	14.48	15.97	21.55	23.15	-
N. S.	28.15	37.80	43.34	45.17	-
N. B.	23.34	28.29	32.08	31.59	-
Que.	39.67	48.20	56.03	63.10	-
Ont.	42.88	52.57	58.17	61.08	-
Man.	27.60	43.43	42.88	45.13	43.72
Sask.	15.63	26.68	28.90	31.56	30.09
Alta.	25.38	36.78	37.88	38.07	37.07
B. C.	50.48	51.90	47.19	56.86	-
Canada	37.50	45.42	49.52	53.70 (1)	-

(1) If the sub-urban population adjacent to the six largest cities in Canada be added to the population of incorporated urban units, the percentage urban in Canada in 1931 is increased from 53.7 to 56.2 (1931 Census, Volume 1, pp. 161.)

TABLE LX. Percentage Distribution of Population of Canada, Rural and Urban, Farm and Non-Farm, by Provinces, 1931.

Province	Percentage of Population -			
	Urban	Rural Non-Farm	Rural and Urban Non-Farm	Rural Farm
P. E. I.	23.15	14.41	37.57	62.43
N. S.	45.17	20.91	66.08	33.92
N. B.	31.59	24.69	56.28	43.72
Que.	63.10	11.03	74.13	25.87
Ont.	61.08	16.03	77.11	22.89
Man.	45.13	18.55	63.68	36.32
Sask.	31.56	7.53	39.09	60.91
Alta.	38.07	11.23	49.30	50.70
B. C.	56.86	28.70	85.56	14.44
Canada	53.70	15.24	68.94	31.06

Source: 1931 Census Monograph No. 6, pp. 48. The urban figures include 65,718 on urban farms, of whom more than half were in Quebec. If these were transferred a minor change would appear in the figures for that province.

Table 1. Summary of the results of the analysis of variance for the different factors.

Table 2. Summary of the results of the analysis of variance for the different factors.

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom			Mean Square	F Value	Probability
	Between Groups	Within Groups	Total			
Factor A	1	10	11	15.00	1.50	0.25
Factor B	2	20	22	10.00	1.00	0.38
Factor C	3	30	33	5.00	0.50	0.68
Factor D	4	40	44	2.50	0.25	0.92
Factor E	5	50	55	1.50	0.15	0.98
Factor F	6	60	66	1.00	0.10	0.99
Factor G	7	70	77	0.75	0.07	0.99
Factor H	8	80	88	0.50	0.05	0.99
Factor I	9	90	99	0.25	0.02	0.99
Factor J	10	100	110	0.10	0.01	0.99
Total	11	110	121			

Table 3. Summary of the results of the analysis of variance for the different factors.

SECTION III. FACTORS IN THE STATIONARINESS OF FARM AND
RURAL POPULATION: PROVINCIAL SURVEY.

Before delving further into the nature and causes of rural-urban migration, it might be useful to examine the manner of rural settlement and to draw attention to occupational and other trends. In this connection, two recent studies merit special mention. The first deals with the Maritime Provinces, being the only completed section of a 1931 Census Monograph, The Population Basis of Agriculture, which is in process of preparation under the direction of Dr. O.A. Lemieux of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The second deals with the Prairie Provinces. It was written by the late Mr. M.C. MacLean of the Social Research Branch of the Census. By courtesy of the Dominion Statistician, the writer was given access to typescript copies of both of these monographs.

a. The Maritimes:

1. In Prince Edward Island, the rural population attained its maximum in 1891 and between 1891 and 1931 decreased by 46.3 percent. In Nova Scotia the maximum was reached in 1881 and between 1881 and 1931 declined to 38.2 percent. In New Brunswick the rural population increased to 1881, decreased during the following decades, to again increase until 1931.(1) In growing, it appears that all the land in the older districts which was readily accessible and capable of profitable exploitation at the time was occupied first, and then population moved out into unsettled adjacent areas.(2) The "rural" counties whose populations were still growing in 1931, were of two sorts, (a) suburban districts surrounding the larger cities, and (b) counties with large areas of unused arable lands which are in the process of being colonized. In growing, these counties are behaving like the others behaved earlier in the period, viz. they tend to reach a maximum and then decrease until what might be called an "optimum" density is attained(3).

2. Ever since 1861, there has been an important emigration from the Maritimes. It included both native born persons and immigrants from the British Isles. The emigration, while partly from urban centres, was primarily from rural areas. This outward movement was offset to a limited degree by an inward movement of persons born elsewhere in Canada and in foreign countries, but the latter movement was directed almost entirely to towns and cities.(4)

3. In Prince Edward Island the estimated farm population (5) (as distinct from the rural population) reached a peak in 1891, but each census thereafter recorded a decline, so that the farm population of 1931 was actually 36 percent smaller than the 1891 figure. The same is true of Nova Scotia, where the decline attained even greater proportions, running to 45 percent. In New Brunswick also the farm population reached its maximum in 1891, but the decline was

(1) The Population Basis of Agriculture, 1931 Census Monograph No. by Dr. O.A. Lemieux. Typescript Manuscript, pp. 5.

(2) O.A. Lemieux, op. cit. pp. 31.

(3) O.A. Lemieux, op. cit. pp. 32-33.

(4) idem. pp. 64-65.

(5) In the absence of census figures of farm population prior to 1931, the following method was used in making estimates for earlier census years. For each of these years the number of farms in each county was multiplied by the average size of rural household in that county, the resultant figure being taken as the first approximation to the farm population on the assumption that each farm represented one household. The county figures were then added to secure provincial totals. Estimates for 1931 were made on the same basis. In Prince Edward Island, the 1931 estimate was found to exceed the actual farm population as recorded in the census by 8.3 percent; in Nova Scotia by 2.6 percent; and in New Brunswick by 0.8 percent. It was assumed that the provincial estimates for the preceding censuses would show about the same degree of error and in the same direction, and they were adjusted accordingly. (See op. cit. pp. 87-88.)

interrupted in the decade 1901-1911 and was of smaller proportions amounting to 17 percent over the four decades 1891 - 1931. (1) (See Appendix Table VII.)

4. "In all three provinces the number of farms reached a maximum in 1891, and by 1931 had decreased by 11.6 percent in Prince Edward Island, by 33.4 percent in Nova Scotia, and 11.8 percent in New Brunswick. There is evidence in all three provinces that the farms which were large at the outset were divided among members of the family until the time when further subdivision would have made them too small for economical operation." (2) In the past fifty years, however, improved methods of cultivation have been introduced, which permit one man to operate more land than he did before, and to operate it more economically. As a result, the average size of farm in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick has increased. In Nova Scotia, the extensive abandoning of large farms in areas of infertile soils, the development of apple growing on small farm units, and the continued importance of small scale part-time farming, particularly in the coastal regions, have militated against an increase in the average size of farm in that province. (3) Still, the mean size has been increasing.

5. Farm population started to emigrate long before the occupied area reached its maximum. "The area of occupied farm land in Prince Edward Island did not reach a maximum until 1921 when 87.1 percent of the total land area and 96.6 percent of the total potential agricultural land were occupied. Between 1891 and 1921, the area of occupied land increased while the numbers of farms decreased. Obviously in this province it was the amount of land available for occupation rather than population that was the controlling factor in agricultural expansion. In New Brunswick, the maximum occupied area occurred in 1911 with 25.8 percent of the total land area and 42.4 percent of the total potential agricultural land occupied. Decreases in occupied acreage in the southern and southeastern sections of the province started at a much earlier date." In Nova Scotia the maximum occurred in 1891 with 45.8 percent of the total land area and 75.1 percent of the total potential agricultural land occupied. All the land which was abandoned between 1891 and 1931 was definitely of low productivity or land which could be operated only in conjunction with another occupation. (4)

Speaking generally then, the trend of occupied acreage in the Maritimes as a whole has been downward for several decades.

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- (1) It should be kept in mind that, so far the farm population in the Maritimes has always included the population living on small farms where it is evident that farming does not constitute the main source of income. In 1931, of the 86,334 farms in the Maritimes, 20,399 or 23.93 percent were classified as part-time farms. The above figures on part-time farming, however, include only those persons who derived less than half their income from farming. Probably an equally large number derive more than half their income from farming, but, nevertheless, depend on some other occupations for part of their livelihood. Thus, upward of one half of the farmers of the three provinces are dependent on some other source of income for part of their livelihood. (See op. cit. pp. 355 and 382.)
 - (2) op. cit. pp. 356.
 - (3) idem. pp. 356. In 1931 part-time farms in the Maritimes were distributed as follows: Prince Edward Island, 1,315; Nova Scotia, 12,225; New Brunswick, 6,859, showing that part-time farming is far more important in Nova Scotia than in the other provinces. (idem pp. 382.)
 - (4) Op. cit. pp. 356-358.

[illegible]

1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

6. Since 1901 in Nova Scotia, and since 1911 in both Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, the area of improved land has been declining. (1) This decline, as that in occupied acreage, was not caused by any lack of available farm population, but by limited markets and greater opportunities for the local surplus of farm population in urban centres and in other rural areas (particularly in the West).

7. The maximum agricultural production (combining crops, livestock and animal products) was not reached in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick until 1930, while in Nova Scotia it was reached in 1920. In all three provinces the farm population had started to decrease before 1900. Had agricultural production in the Maritimes been more profitable than work in urban centres and had it hold as much promise as farming in western Canada, it is reasonable to suppose that there would have been more agricultural development locally and less emigration. Obviously agricultural production was conditioned by factors other than population scarcity. (2)

8. The last fifty years have witnessed the organization of industry into larger urban units and the almost complete disappearance of the artisan class, which manufactured in small hamlets and in rural areas. (3) Many of these local artisans derived part of their livelihood from small and/or comparatively unproductive farm holdings. Unable to compete with the superior mechanized methods of urban industry, and unable to obtain a livelihood from his small farm holding, the artisan had no alternative but to emigrate. Dr. Lemieux estimates that in the single decade 1890-1901 this change was responsible for the emigration of almost 5,000 in Prince Edward Island, 20,000 in Nova Scotia, and 9,000 in New Brunswick. (4) In the larger urban centres new occupations were created capable of absorbing part of this displaced population, but no parallel development occurred in rural parts.

That the elimination of the small rural artisan contributed materially to the decline in the number of farms and to the rural-urban exodus is evident from Table X.

"Between 1881 and 1931 in Prince Edward Island the decrease in the number of part-time farms was almost twice the decrease in the total number of farms over the period, indicating that while those part-time farms were being abandoned, other farms were being occupied (on a full time basis). In Nova Scotia, part-time farms were responsible for about 50 percent of the decrease in the total number of farms." (5) The same was true of New Brunswick. (5) This conforms with American experience where it has been demonstrated that the abandonment of the small marginal and part-time farm has contributed largely to the rural-urban exodus.

9. Another important source of decrease in farm population is associated with the increase in the average size of farms, where the increase size is effected by the combining of two or more farms and the replacement of the two or more farm households with one household operating the larger farm unit.

(1) *idem*, pp. 357-359.

(2) *idem*, pp. 364.

(3) *idem*, pp. 365-381.

(4) Those figures include the full time artisans as well as the part-time artisans, and part-time farmers. (*idem* pp. 380)

(5) *Op. cit.* 387.

In four counties of Nova Scotia, part-time farming has been increasing in recent years, but it has declined in the province as a whole.

Dr. Lemieux estimates that the decrease in farm population attributable to this cause in the fifty year period 1881 to 1931 was about as follows:(1)

Prince Edward Island	- 8,000
Nova Scotia	- 25,000
New Brunswick	- 33,000

10. A final contributory cause of the decrease in farm population was the decline in the average size of household which resulted from, (1) lowered birthrates, and (2) the tendency of fewer children to remain on the farm. Dr. Lemieux expresses the opinion that the latter "factor was probably more important than the first due to the fact that the emigration trend has caused a larger number of children to leave their home to seek employment elsewhere."(2)

Apparently the correctness of this opinion is incapable of demonstration from statistics of earlier years, but it is known that young persons were disproportionately represented in the rural-urban migration in recent decades and it may well be that a tendency for fewer young men and women to remain on the farms did contribute appreciably to the exodus over the period.

11. Owing to the nature and topography of the provinces, mechanization and the use of high powered machinery was not an important factor in displacing farm population in the Maritimes. The effect of such mechanization as occurred was "to allow the farmer to do a better job with less effort and -- to bring a greater portion of his farm under cultivation." (3)

12. In Chapters III, IV, and V, Dr. Lemieux makes a detailed study of agricultural trends in the Maritimes by counties. He shows that with the development of inland transportation and the urbanization of industry, farming gradually has changed from an early subsistence and semi-subsistence sort to more commercial, large scale types. This conclusion emerges from an exhaustive analysis of trends in field and orchard crops, animal products and livestock, as well as from an examination of abandoned acreage and size of farm holding. As had already been pointed out, in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, the tendency was for small subsistence and part-time farms to be merged into larger and more economic farm units. In Nova Scotia the small part-time farms were merely abandoned, as were also many larger farms in infertile areas which never should have been settled, and could not now be profitably cultivated. Part-time farming persists only as a subsidiary to the fishing and the logging industry and on the outskirts of some of the larger urban centres. In the light of agricultural trends of the past few decades, Dr. Lemieux does not anticipate any significant expansion of agriculture in the Maritimes until larger local or foreign industrial markets become available for agricultural produce or the farm population is willing to accept a lower standard of living. To avoid that, it has been emigrating on a large scale for more than half a century.

(1) Op. cit. 391. These estimates were made by computing the number of 1881 farms which would have had to be eliminated to account for the increase in the average size of farms over the fifty year interval, and the 1881 population which these farms represented. It would seem to the writer that this method of estimation rather over-emphasizes the displacement from this cause, because (1) the size of the farm household decreased over the period and the displacement was spread over the five decades, and (2) some of the increased size of farms was brought about by the establishment of larger farm units in the newly settled areas, especially of New Brunswick. There seems to be no doubt, however, that the combining of small holdings into larger units did contribute materially to the decrease in farm population -- and consequently to the rural-urban migration.

(2) Op. cit. 392.

(3) Op. cit. pp. 400.

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b. The Central Provinces: Quebec and Ontario. (1)

1. The manner of rural growth in the two central provinces has in general been much similar to that in the Maritimes. The older counties filled up and then population spread to adjacent unsettled regions. The first counties to reach their maximum population density were in the peninsula of Ontario, along the United States border to Quebec, the portion of Quebec between the St. Lawrence and the United States border as far as Montmagny county. (2) The counties which are still increasing in rural population, as in the Maritimes, are (1) counties located near urban centres, and (2) counties in the early stage of colonization. In growing, the newer rural counties, like the old, tend to reach a maximum and then stabilize at a figure somewhat below the high. (3) The newer the county, the lower is the maximum density per square mile because of increased size of farm holdings, decreasing size of farm households, and the nature of the terrain. In no case has the maximum and subsequent decline derived from any shortage of local population; on the contrary, local surpluses have existed and moved elsewhere.

After a careful and minute examination of all counties in Canada which had reached their maxima prior to 1931, (4) Mr. M.C. MacLean makes the following statement:

"The manner in which the 127 counties arriving at maximum density have behaved since arriving indicates that their maturity was not a temporary incident nor an accident, but was due to something more fundamental. As has been seen, 27 arrived in or before 1871, and thus have had at least 60 years to show what they intend to do, while 47 counties have had over 50 years. If we rely upon what they have done as an indicator of what they mean to do, the tendency would seem to be toward a stabilization at (about) 82 percent of their population at maximum density". (5)

2. In the province of Ontario as a whole, farm population reached its maximum in 1891, and in the following four decades declined 28 percent. In the same period, the urban population of the province increased by over 250 percent. In Quebec, farm population reached its maximum in 1911 and by 1931 had declined some 5 percent. In the same period, the urban population of the province almost doubled. (See Appendix Table VIII.)

That the trend of farm population has been downward in these two provinces is significant enough, but that it continued downward in the face of such tremendous expansion in urban population would seem to be a circumstance of first-rate importance from the standpoint of post-war reconstruction.

(1) Dr. Lemieux has not yet completed his detailed analysis for Ontario and Quebec similar to that for the Maritimes. The writer therefore has had to depend in the main on published Census data, two papers and one book, viz.: The Correlation between Population Density and Population Increase in Canada, by M.C. MacLean, Proceedings of Canadian Political Science Association, 1933; Factors in the Growth of Rural Population in Eastern Canada by Messrs. Lemieux, Cudmore, MacLean, Polletier and Tracey, Proceedings of the Political Science Association, 1934; and Land and Labour, by Haythorne and Marsh, McGill University Social Research Series, No. 11.

(2) M.C. MacLean, op. cit. pp. 210.

(3) M.C. MacLean, op. cit. pp. 213.

(4) Practically all of them were in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes.

(5) M.C. MacLean: Op. cit., pp. 213.

It is probably true that the urban population and urban industries in Ontario and Quebec are becoming less dependent on the farms of these provinces for their food and agricultural raw materials. It is almost certainly true that the farmers of these provinces are increasing the output of agricultural products despite their decreasing numbers. (1) Such considerations may help to explain the situation, but they do not **alter** the fact that unless some radical change occurs in present trends, the prospects for growth of farm population in central Canada are not bright, even if the progress of urbanization and industrialization continues unabated after the war. (Chart 14.)

The argument has often been advanced that if we increase our urban population, we will be able not only to consume our agricultural surpluses, but to absorb more people on the land. The experience of Ontario and Quebec, and indeed of the whole of eastern Canada, during the past few decades is demonstrably quite the reverse of any such expectation -- at least, insofar as agriculture in the East is concerned.

3. In both Ontario and Quebec, the number of farms reached a maximum in 1911, and has since declined. (2) On the other hand, the average size of farms has been increasing. Between 1871 and 1931, the increase was 25.1 acres in Ontario and 37.3 acres in Quebec. (3) In both provinces the number of small to moderate sized farms (11-100 acres) has been decreasing for several decades -- the very small farms (1-4 acres) rapidly, while the number of farms between 100 and 200 acres, and especially those over 200 acres, have been increasing. The only small farm unit that has been holding its own is the 5 - 10 acre suburban market garden type, which is actually on the up grade in Ontario. (4) (Chart 15.)

To what extent the increased size of farm has been achieved by the actual abandoning of small, infertile farms, the combining of small farm holdings into larger ones, and the establishment of large farm units in new areas, has not been worked out for these provinces, although the studies of Messrs. Haythorne and Marsh suggest that the latter is an important factor. (5)

(1) In discussing the behaviour of a sample of 90 counties in Eastern Canada which had passed their maximum rural population prior to 1931, 48 of which were in Ontario and Quebec, Dr. Lemieux et al make the following statement: "A close examination of the production of those counties indicates in most cases a **decided** increase in production since the time of their maximum rural population down to 1931." (Op. cit. pp. 200) Production would naturally be increasing in the other newer **counties** where rural population has been expanding.

(2) See Haythorne and Marsh, op. cit. p. 6. "In both provinces the numbers (of abandoned farms) are highest in the regions which are either wholly or partly in the Canadian Shield. In Ontario over 60 percent of all the abandoned farms are in the three northern frontier regions. . . Similar abandonment of farms has taken place in parts of New England where physiographic conditions are comparable."

"The planned or natural reversion to forest of semi-fertile land or rocky fields once hopefully brought under cultivation, largely explains the decrease in acreage and in the number of farms which occurred in Ontario and Quebec . . . after the peaks reached early in the present century."

(3) M.C. MacLean: Op. cit. pp. 202.

(4) Source: 1931 Census, Volume III, Table 2 and Table VIII. See also Haythorne and Marsh, op. cit. pp. 125.

(5) Op. cit. pp. 121-125.

4. Since the turn of the century the number of persons gainfully occupied in agriculture, the area in farms, and improved farm acreage have remained at about the 1901 level in Ontario. In Quebec, occupied and improved acreage have increased about 20 percent, and persons gainfully occupied in agriculture by about 17 percent. In neither province has the extension of agricultural operations been limited by a shortage of rural population.
5. Indeed, throughout the period there has been heavy emigration from rural parts. (1) As in the Maritimes, this movement was associated, during the decades following Confederation, with the elimination of rural craftsmen. (2) It also resulted from the failure of the resident farm population to retain its natural increase, and for reasons similar to those already mentioned as obtaining in the Maritime provinces. Part of the rural surplus migrated to other rural areas holding greater promise (e.g. the Prairie Provinces between 1901 and 1904); part went to urban centres in Canada and the United States.
6. As in the Maritimes, mechanization, though somewhat more general in Ontario, has not caused any serious displacement of farm labour in central Canada. (3) Proof of this statement is found in the census tabulations: In Ontario the number of persons gainfully occupied in agriculture and the improved acreage were practically the same in 1931 as in 1901, and occupied acreage increased only slightly. In Quebec, where occupied and improved acreage grew, the number of persons gainfully occupied in agriculture increased almost proportionately. In Quebec, the increase in the average size of farm since Confederation was largely accounted for by an increase in acreage under hay and pasture which require a minimum use of machines. In Ontario, acreage in hay and pasture increased even faster than the average size of farm. In 1931, the number of persons occupied per farm exceeded that in 1901 in both provinces. The chief effect of mechanization appears, therefore, to have been rather to enable the farmer to do his job better and with less effort.
7. Of course changes have occurred in types of farming. Crops formerly grown for sale have been replaced by crops grown to be fed on farms and sold

(1) No figures on rural-urban migration from central Canada are available prior to 1921, but that it has been consistently heavy is evident from the prevailing high rural birthrates, coupled with the absolute decline in farm population.

(2) Lemieux et al: Op. cit. pp. 205-206 and Table VIII. pp. 218.

Year	Blacksmiths		Millers		Coopers		Harness Makers	
	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.
1881	10,030	5,437	3,294	1,370	2,404	674	2,222	759
1911	5,926	4,812	2,186	751	774	234	1,721	932
1931	5,331	4,545	866	283	434	133	542	340

Part-time farming is not so important in central Canada as in the Maritimes, and probably never has been. In 1931 the percentage that part-time farm operators constituted of total farm operators was 8.15 percent in Quebec, and 7.50 percent in Ontario, as against 10.22 percent in Prince Edward Island, 30.99 percent in Nova Scotia and 20.16 percent in New Brunswick. (1931 Census, Volume 1, pp. 333, Table III) In central Canada part-time farming has been associated with fishing (on the Gaspé peninsula), with logging in the north, and to some (perhaps an increasing) extent with urban occupations in areas adjacent to the larger cities.

(3) Lemieux et al: Op. cit. pp. 203. See also Haythorne and Marsh, op. cit. pp. 29: "The evidence available does not make it possible to charge agricultural mechanization with the responsibility for rural depopulation in central Canada.

as milk, bacon, hogs and eggs. Labour and time saved in the raising of field crops by the use of power machinery has been devoted to looking after live-stock and special crops. As in the Maritimes, the small subsistence farmer has been disappearing and except in suburban areas; where because of improved transportation part-time farming can be carried on as a side line by urban workers, and on the northern fringe where agriculture and lumbering have been expending on a part-time basis, the trend in agricultural development has been toward the commercialized agricultural enterprise which can usually be run most economically where the farm holding is of some size. (1)

c. The Prairie Provinces (2)

Factors Conditioning Settlement

The settlement of the Prairie region has been divided into the following great periods: (1) a false start associated with the building of the C.P.R., covering the years 1876 to 1882 when homestead entries rose from an annual total of 350 to over 7,000; (2) a period of recession (1883-1895); (3) the period of great influx from eastern Canada, the United States and abroad (1896-1913) when the whole of the remaining prairie was covered, although scantily, with agricultural settlers; (4) the war and post-war years (1914-1920) when the influx of new settlers was reduced but the extension of settlement was pushed rapidly; (5) the post-war slump (1921-1925) and (6) a new period of expansion (1926-1929). "It was chiefly the economic factors which cause the great movements of advance and retreat and consolidation." (3) Among those economic factors were the building of railroads, the extension and contraction of markets for agricultural surpluses (notably of wheat), costs of transport (railway and ocean freights) and the price of export agricultural staples,

The association between settlement and the extension of railroad facilities may be seen by comparing two series of historical maps, one showing the spread of population and the increase in rural population density in the region by five year intervals 1901-1931, and the other showing existing railway mileage as at the above dates with a shaded belt ten miles wide on either side of both main and branch lines. By 1931, inhabited areas more

(1) Exceptions are the suburban market garden, the fur farm and the small farm unit concentrating on poultry or other specialized crops. These farm enterprises, while small scale in terms of acreage employed, are nevertheless commercialized.

See also Haythorne and Marsh, pp. 28. "But everywhere, (in Ontario and Quebec) modern manufacturing and cash-crop farming have become more common and more extensive than they were a generation ago." This change is reflected in the increasing number of hired (as opposed to family) workers (pp. 192-193). Note also pp. 277-279, and pp. 424. "Quebec agriculture being much more tenaciously directed toward self-sufficiency, was less influenced by the rise of new towns and industries; but it did not resist change entirely."

(2) By far the most comprehensive study of the settlement of the Prairie region is contained in the nine volumes of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, edited by W.A. Mackintosh and M.L.G. Joerg (MacMillan, Toronto, 1934.) Two of the volumes are particularly pertinent to the present memorandum, viz., Prairie Settlement, Volume I, and Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces, Volume IV, by W.A. Mackintosh. In an unpublished monograph entitled History of Growth of the Prairie Provinces, the late M.C. MacLean of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has made an exhaustive statistical study of settlement in the region by townships. Another useful work is Agriculture, Climate and Population of the Prairie Provinces, a statistical Atlas by W. Burton Hurd and T.W. Grindley, published by the King's Printer and prepared in connection with the Frontiers of Settlement Series. In addition to the above there are the excellent quinquennial Census volumes.

(3) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit. Volume IV. pp. 3.

than ten miles from the nearest railroad were confined largely to a narrow strip on the poriphery. (1) The era of railway building in the Prairies would seem to have come to a close; already the region is well served and such further construction as may occur can hardly provide any major stimulus to agricultural settlement.

The influence of other economic factors may be illustrated by reference to the period immediately following the turn of the century when the rate of settlement reached a maximum. This was a period of expanding markets. In 1901, Canadian exports of wheat, wheat meal and flour to the United Kingdom totalled 8 million cwt; by 1911 it had risen to 19 million and by 1914 to 36 million. (2) "After 1895 costs of transportation continued their downward course and remained at the low level attained until 1911; the trend of Liverpool prices was strongly upward." (3) At the same time railway companies were adding to existing facilities at a very rapid rate and capital flowed freely into the region for the building of elevators and the provision of other necessary equipment. In a word, rapid settlement occurred because of an extremely favourable combination of economic circumstances, of which the most important were international rather than local in origin.

The dependence of the now settler on a cash crop for the purchase of food and clothing, the financing of buildings and equipment and the payment of taxes and interest has been examined and explained elsewhere. (4) Its *raison d'être* is generally understood. With the spread of agricultural settlement wheat became the leading cash crop both on the prairies proper and in the park region bordering the grassy plains on the north and west. The figures assembled in Table XI serve to emphasize the continued importance of wheat in the Canadian economy. When reading the table one should keep in mind that the Prairies normally produce over 90 percent of Canada's wheat. (5) As recently as 1926, 75 percent of the crop land in these provinces was devoted to cash crops, as against 25 percent to the growing of food for livestock. From 80 to 85 percent of the land used for cash crops was in wheat. (6)

From the standpoint of land utilization, four more or less distinct types of farming have emerged in the Prairie Provinces: (1) wheat growing; (2) mixed farming; (3) dairying (usually associated with wheat growing or mixed farming), and (4) ranching. Ranching is practically confined to the dry area in southwestern Saskatchewan and southeastern Alberta, and to a strip of land extending from the international boundary northward along the foothills to beyond Calgary. Wheat predominates in southwestern and central Alberta, throughout the whole of Saskatchewan save for the northern and eastern fringe and the dry belt, and in southern Manitoba, although in the latter area the proportion of other cereals and forage crops is growing rapidly. Mixed farming is found

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- (1) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit. Volume I, pp. 48-52 and 62-68.
 - (2) Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom (London, Board of Trade 1932)
 - (3) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit. Volume IV, pp. 10. See also Figures 4 and 5, pp. 9 and 10 and Appendix Tables IV and V.
 - (4) Several of the Frontiers of Settlement Series deal with this subject, especially Volumes I and IV.
 - (5) In the five years 1924-1928, the prairies produced 94 percent of the Canadian total.
 - (6) Statistical Atlas pp. 26.

in northern and western Alberta and in the northern and eastern parts of both Saskatchewan and Manitoba -- in other words, over practically the whole of the park belt. It is also the dominant type of farming in the irrigated districts. The greater development in dairying has occurred in eastern Manitoba, north-eastern Saskatchewan and northwestern Alberta. (1)

These regional differences in types of land utilization derive from fundamental differences in the physical basis of agriculture --especially in the amount and variability of precipitation. (2) Ranching is restricted largely to regions where precipitation is below the requisite margin for field crops. Owing to the ability of wheat to mature with less moisture than other cereals, its cultivation has been pushed further into the "dry belt" than has been possible with fodder crops. Indeed, it was this characteristic of wheat coupled with the level terrain which favoured the extensive use of machinery that made possible the settlement of the great semi-arid plains. Here mixed farming was and still is impracticable. It is only in the park belt that any great flexibility in type of farming obtains. Here, now that the pioneer stage of settlement is passing, less dependence is placed on wheat as a cash crop and mixed farming is developing with some emphasis on dairying, especially in areas adjacent to the larger urban markets.

The foregoing discussion of economic and physical factors conditioning agricultural development in the West, though sketchy and incomplete, should make for an easier understanding of the manner of rural population growth since the turn of the century.

1. The manner of settlement on the prairies was in some important respects different from that in the East. Attracted by the lure of free land, a highly mobile population flowed in and spread thinly over the parklands and the plains. By 1911, 83.5 percent of the present inhabited area had been "occupied" in the sense that the above proportion of townships had received at least some settlers: indeed, a third of the present inhabited area was "occupied" in a single decade, 1901-1911. (3) The dependence of population growth upon the extension of area was remarkable. As much as half the population increase in the three provinces in the 35 year period 1901-1936 is attributable to this cause, viz. the movement of settlers into townships that had been previously uninhabited. (4) "So long as new areas were available and accessible, the population kept growing fast. As they became scarce or exhausted the growing slowed up and finally ceased (1926); parts of the areas already settled were abandoned. (5) Then followed a movement into new lands and the population grew once more in 1926--1931. In this case it was not only immigrants that went into the new areas, but

(1) Hurd: Statistical Atlas, pp. 26-27.

(2) *idem*, pp. 9-25.

(3) MacLean, *op. cit.* Chapter IV.

(4) MacLean, *idem*, Chapter IV, pp. 5.

(5) Mr. MacLean estimated that between 1901 and 1936 some 20,000 square miles had already been tried and abandoned; another 15,000 square miles had reached a fair degree of density and reverted to low densities. In other words, in the space of 35 years 11.2 percent of the area settled had been tried and more or less abandoned. (*Op. cit.* Chapter VII, pp. 2)

the people of the older settlements as well" -- about 50-50. (1)

Parallel with the extension of settlement into unoccupied areas went the more complete occupation of areas already inhabited. As has been indicated, about half the population increase in the 35 year period was affected in this manner. But as there were limits to the new lands physically and economically accessible, there were limits to the more intensive occupation of the old --and hence to rural population density. The researches of M.C. MacLean show that between 1921 and 1926, some eleven of the fifty-one census divisions of the Prairie Provinces reached a maximum rural population density and began to decline, viz. a block of three divisions in the south-east of Alberta, of two in the older part of Saskatchewan and six in the middle of pre-1912 Manitoba. (1) These census divisions arrived at maturity at a low degree of density. Current 1941 census releases suggest that many more passed their maximum during the ensuing fifteen years. Separate figures are not yet available for the rural population, but an analysis of the combined rural and urban totals shows that in as many as thirty out of the fifty-one census divisions in the region total population density had reached at least a temporary maximum prior to 1941. Subsequent tabulations probably will reveal that rural population behaved similarly in most of these districts and perhaps some others. In how many cases these maxima will prove to be permanent, time alone will tell, but both the experience of eastern Canada and the presence of certain well-defined trends within the region itself leave little doubt that rural population has passed its maximum in large sections of the Prairie Provinces. (3)

2. However that may be, the rate of population growth for the region as a whole has been definitely downward for several decades, as may be seen from Table XII. (4)

Such tabulations as have already been released indicate that when the complete 1941 figures are available, a continued downward trend will be recorded for 1931-1941 in all six columns. Were the above increases converted to rates of growth, the declines would appear even more drastic.

Many factors have contributed to the decline in population increase, the most obvious of which being that practically all of the land in the settled area capable of profitable cultivation has been occupied. Indeed, as has been pointed out, in some sections large acreages have proved to be sub-marginal and have been abandoned. (5) For perhaps two decades, such extension of occupied acreage as occurred was confined largely to the wooded fringe where problems of clearing the land, inferior soils and shortened growing season were encountered, in addition to those arising from the generally unfavourable conditions affecting western agriculture as a whole.

(1) *Idem*, Chapter VII, pp. 2.

(2) MacLean, *op. cit.* Proceedings of Canadian Political Science Association 1933, pp. 211.

(3) Elaboration of the grounds for this view appears in subsequent sections.

(4) The data has been presented in terms of decennial instead of quinquennial increases in order to bring out the trend. By so doing, the essentially cyclical nature of the growth is concealed. The period covered includes two cycles, one with a peak in 1906-11 and another with a peak between 1926 and 1931.

(5) See footnote (5), page 36 above.

Certain other factors militated against more intensive cultivation and denser rural populations in the regions already occupied. Mention has already been made of climate and other conditions which have prevented the development of mixed farming in the extensive semi-arid plains now chiefly devoted to wheat growing and ranching. (1) Lack of urban industrialization and mechanization of agriculture have also exerted an important influence on the growth of rural population.

3. In central Canada, the tremendous growth of urban centres associated with the expansion of industry and trade not only helped to absorb the surplus rural population, but provided enlarged markets for the products of the farm. In western Canada, save in two or three centres, relatively little industrial development has occurred. The function of the typical urban community is to serve as a distributing centre for the agricultural area immediately adjacent thereto. The tempo of urban growth, therefore, has been closely regulated by the expansion of agriculture and its amount has been limited by the needs of the farm community. This is apparent from the figures of the past 25 years. Between 1911 and 1936, the urban population of the Prairie Provinces (excluding Greater Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton) increased by only 84 percent as against a 79 percent increase in rural and a 72 percent increase in rural farm population. In 1936, only one in three inhabitants of the region resided in incorporated urban localities. The lack of external and non-agricultural stimuli to urban growth strictly limits the local demand for the products of the farm and explains why any major extension of dairying and mixed farming is dependent (like wheat farming and ranching) on markets outside the region -- markets in which, despite the handicap of distance, the products of the western farm can successfully compete.

4. In striking contrast with the Maritimes, and to a lesser degree with central Canada, the machine has had an exceedingly important effect on rural population growth in the West. The terrain has favoured its use and world competition in export markets has forced its introduction as a device for reducing costs. The rapid increase in the different types of farm machinery is traced in the quinquennial census volumes. The figures in Table XIII illustrate certain effects on agricultural labour requirements.

In 1931, a farm worker in the West could handle more than double the improved acreage and acreage in field crops that he was able to do in 1901, and with much reduced seasonal help at harvest time. "For many years prior to 1930 it had been the custom for the Prairie Provinces to "import" from 25,000 to 50,000 men for the harvest season.There has been no assisted movement of harvesters to this area since 1929." (2) The use of the combine is in some measure responsible for this change. Farm machinery is also associated with the increased size of farms. The experience of Saskatchewan will serve to illustrate.

5. In the two decades 1911-1931, the average size of farm in this province increased 40 percent, the average area of improved land per farm approximately 100 percent, but the average number of persons gainfully employed per farm rose only from 1.40 to 1.53 percent, or 9 percent. The retarding effect of increasing mechanization on the growth of rural population in the West must be obvious.

In contrast with eastern Canada, neither subsistence nor part-time farming have ever been practiced to any significant extent in the Prairie

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- (1) A glance at the rural population density map shows that generally speaking the highest densities have been attained in the park region and that the rural densities decline as one moves in toward the "dry belt" in south-western Saskatchewan and south-eastern Alberta.
 - (2) J.F. Booth: Some Economic Effects of Mechanization of Canadian Agriculture with Particular Reference to the Spring Wheat Area. Proceedings of the World's Grain Exhibition and Conference, Regina, 1933, pp. 357-358.

Provinces. (1) Farming in this region is and has been a highly commercialized enterprise. In 1936, more than 94 percent of all farms were over 100 acres. In all three provinces the percentage of farms between 100 and 200 acres has consistently decreased since the beginning of the century, and the proportion of farms in the larger categories has been increasing. Farms in the Park Belt average between 200 and 300 acres. On the Prairie Plains the typical farm is three quarter sections (480 acres). They are even larger in the United States section of the semi-arid zone. Dr. O.E. Baker estimates the mean size there at 590 acres, as against a mean on the Canadian side of 440 acres. This suggests that the size of farm holding in the Canadian portion of the Great Plains may still increase. (2) Although small farms (under 100 acres) constitute less than 6 percent of all farms in the Prairie region, their relative importance has been growing since 1901. This is true of virtually every small size category and in each province, reflecting the development of certain specialties, e.g. poultry raising, and market gardening, especially in the neighborhood of the larger urban centres. Increase of rural population, however, through further development of market gardening seems likely to be small unless some way is found to increase urban population more rapidly than has occurred in the past.

6. The source of population increase in the Prairie Provinces has changed radically in the last four decades. (Table XV). The initial settlement of the region was affected by inigration from outside. Prior to 1911 natural increase played a relatively small part in population growth. During the decade 1911-1921, however, it accounted for 72 percent of the increase, and in the ten years 1921-1931, for as much as 95 percent. Figures for the last decade are not yet available by nativity, but indications are that the proportion will be even higher (3)

7. In the decade 1921-1931 occupied area in the three provinces increased by 2,850,000 acres, an amount about equivalent to all that remains unoccupied of the agricultural land still available (and suitable) for settlement in the West. (4) Improved acreage increased 14,957,000 acres. During this decade, there was a not movement into the region of 101,000 immigrants from abroad and a net outward movement of 93,000 native born residents. (5) The difference between the net inward and the net outward movement was only a little over 8,000. Thus natural increase in the Prairie region was already almost adequate (had it remained in the West) to provide the population required for a 25 percent increase in occupied farm acreage and a 33 percent increase in improved acreage, together with the urban expansion incident thereto. It follows that if markets were available and other conditions permitted, native

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- (1) Some part-time farming is associated with fishing in the Lake Winnipeg region and with logging in eastern Manitoba, etc.
 - (2) See MacKintosh, op. cit. Volume 1, Figure 72, pp. 95 and pp. 116.
 - (3) That the "elsewhere born" constituted so small a proportion as 5 percent of the increase in the decade 1921-1931, despite the considerable immigration from abroad, is explained by deaths of earlier immigrant residents and the withdrawal of others from the region.
 - (4) Mackintosh, op. cit. Volume 1, pp. 102 and Appendix pp. 234.
 - (5) Estimated from the work tables used for the article by Hurd and Cameron to which reference has been made. In these estimates children under 10 years in 1931 are not included. Of the 93,000 native Canadians moving out of the region, in the neighborhood of two-thirds appear to have gone to other provinces in Canada and the balance to the United States or abroad.

increase in these three provinces would be adequate to complete the agricultural settlement of the West in a single decade. After that is done, or until it is done, the region promises to have a native surplus of its own available for migration elsewhere unless alternative developments occur and on a very considerable scale.

The truth of this statement has already been demonstrated by the 1941 census figures. The expansion of agriculture was arrested between 1931 and 1941. During this period, natural increase in the region amounted to about 315,000. (1)

Yet the population of the three provinces increased by only 45,000 in the decade. A net exodus of about 270,000, therefore, must have occurred. Droughts, pests, and generally unfavourable export markets admittedly contributed to the magnitude of this exodus. Yet the trend is clear.

8. Until the 1941 Census tabulations are cross-classified, it is impossible to analyze this outward movement for the decade 1931-1941 as a whole. An analysis of the movement during the first half of it, however, has been made and a summary of the results appears in Appendix Table IX.

Between 1931 and 1936 approximately 43,400 Canadian born persons left the region and as many as 56,800 immigrant born. During this period, immigrants moved out of the West faster than they moved in during the previous decade -- at an estimated average rate of 11,360 per annum, as against an average in-movement over the 1921-1931 decade of 10,300 per annum. At the same time, Canadian born moved out at an estimated average rate of 8,680 per year, as against 9,300 over the previous ten years period. In proportion to their numbers, immigrants withdrew from rural areas almost twice as fast as the Canadian born and almost three times as fast from urban centres.

Between 1921 and 1931, urban expansion was adequate numerically to absorb the net rural-urban exodus. Between 1931 and 1936 urban centres were unable to absorb any of it. In fact, there occurred an out-movement from incorporated places of about 44,000 in addition to an outward movement of some 55,000 from rural districts. In terms of resident population, the urban exodus was more rapid than the rural.

9. One other comparison is significant. Between 1921 and 1931, immigrants moved into the region at the rate of 10,300 per year; at the same time native Canadians moved out at the rate of 9,300 per year. Whether the Canadian born were pushed out by the immigrants or whether the immigrants merely flowed in to take the places of the Canadian born who would have left anyway, has been discussed elsewhere. (2) Whatever be the truth of the matter, it is clear that there were available to the region many more people than it was able to absorb. The same is true of the decade just past when, despite the absence of immigration, the Prairie Provinces threw off a surplus approaching 270,000. Here again the mere presence of people neither conditioned development nor guaranteed prosperity. It would seem that the excess population merely added to the distress and, as has happened so frequently in the past, moved elsewhere at the earliest possible opportunity.

(1) Computed from 1941 and 1941 Year Books. Natural increase for 1940 estimated.

(2) R.H. Coats: Canadian Immigration Backgrounds and Policy. Confidential Bulletin, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

d. British Columbia.

The economic and population structure of British Columbia and its manner of settlement differs in certain important respects from that of the Prairie Provinces. (1)

1. The population is much more urban than is that of either the Prairies or the Maritimes. In 1931, the urban constituted as much as 57 per cent of the total. There is, therefore, a proportionately larger local market for farm products. This market is growing. The local rural non-farm market is also large.
2. Farming population constitutes a much smaller proportion of the rural population - only 34 percent as against 81 percent on the Prairies (1931) reflecting the relatively greater importance of mining, lumbering, trapping, fishing and other non-farm rural occupations, as well as large suburban settlements adjacent to Vancouver.
3. Orchards, market gardens, small fruit farms and vineyards constitute an appreciable proportion of improved farm acreage (7.5 percent) and cultivated pasture as much as 16.4 percent, as against 2.8 percent in the Prairie region. (2) Farm holdings are much smaller in British Columbia, and the average size has been decreasing.
4. Since the beginning of the century, occupied and improved acreage and the number of farms have increased less rapidly than in the Prairie provinces generally. Farm population has grown very much less rapidly.
5. Persons occupied in agriculture, on the other hand, have increased appreciably faster. Mechanization has not advanced as rapidly nor as far as on the Prairies, nor has it effected comparable economies in farm labour. In British Columbia farming is more intensive and the trend is increasingly in this direction.

Some of the more important differences between the manner of rural growth in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces are summarized in Table XVI.

British Columbia has at least two things in common with the Prairie Provinces: (1) the dependence on markets outside the region for the disposal, not only of surplus agricultural products (especially fruit), but for the sale of large surpluses from other rural non-farm industries, and (2) a declining tempo of rural growth. The latter may be illustrated by the statistical comparisons in Tables XVII and XVIII.

Despite declining rates of rural growth, urban population (at least up to 1931) continued to grow rapidly, the net result being that the percentage increase in the total population of the province has exceeded that in any other region in Canada for the last two decades. Nevertheless, the rate of increase is declining as is evident from the figures in Table XVIII.

As with the Prairie Provinces, the population of British Columbia at first grew mainly by immigration (from abroad and from other parts of Canada), and as recently even as 1921-31, outside sources accounted for the major proportion of the population's increase. Natural increase, however, is assuming greater importance, but if the province were to depend on this source alone, its rate of growth would fall drastically.

(1) See Appendix Table IX.

(2) 1931 Census Volume III, Table 21.

Insofar as the 1921-1931 figures serve as a criterion, (Table XIX), rural-urban migration is relatively small and the urban centres of the province have been able to absorb many times the local rural surplus. The movement from rural parts is primarily female (87.2 percent in 1921-31). British Columbia was the only province in Canada where the increase in Canadian-born exceeded native increase between 1921 and 1931. Of the total net immigration from abroad during this decade, British Columbia received much more than its share and approximately 76 percent of it was resident in cities in 1931. As in Ontario and Quebec, recent immigrant arrivals have been predominately urban.(1)

(1) Hurd and Cameron, op. cit. pp. 236-239.

Urban, Rural and Estimated Farm Population for the Maritime Provinces.

1871 - 1931
(000 omitted)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Estimated Farm</u>
1871	90	677	--
1881	136	735	619
1891	140	740	629
1901	221	672	554
1911	501	637	532
1921	370	630	478
1931	380	628	413

CHART 13.

Number of Farms and Mean Size of Farm Holding, Maritime Provinces, 1881-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Prince Edward Island</u>		<u>Nova Scotia</u>		<u>New Brunswick</u>	
	<u>Number of Farms</u> (000 omitted)	<u>Mean Size of Farms</u> (acres)	<u>Number of Farms</u> (000 omitted)	<u>Mean Size of Farms</u> (acres)	<u>Number of Farms</u> (000 omitted)	<u>Mean Size of Farms</u> (acres)
1881	14	80	56	96	37	100
1891	--	--	--	--	--	--
1901	14	84	54	94	37	120
1911	14	86	53	99	38	119
1921	14	87	47	100	37	115
1931	13	93	39	109	34	122

CHART 14.

Urban, Rural, Estimated Farm Population for Quebec and Ontario, 1871-1931
(000 omitted)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Farm</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Farm</u>
1871	272	920	680	356	1265	970
1881	379	981	766	576	1351	1114
1891	500	989	814	819	1295	1115
1901	654	995	769	936	1247	984
1911	967	1039	822	1328	1199	980
1921	1323	1038	789	1707	1227	861
1931	1814	1061	777	2096	1336	801

Chart 15.

Number of Farms and Mean Size of Farm Holding.
Quebec and Ontario, 1881-1931

Year	QUEBEC		ONTARIO	
	Number of Farms (000 omitted)	Mean Size of Farm acres	Number of Farms (000 omitted)	Mean Size of Farm acres
1881	138	91	207	96
1891	-	-	-	-
1901	140	103	204	105
1911	150	104	212	104
1921	138	125	198	109
1931	136	127	192	119

Derived from Appendix Table VIII.

Chart 16.

Urban, Rural, and Estimated Rural Farm Population of the Prairie
Provinces, and Inter-Censal Increases, 1901-1931.

(000 omitted)

Period	Population			Period	Population Increases		
	Urban	Rural	Farm		Urban	Rural	Farm
1901	103	316	250	1901-11	366	542	468
1911	469	859	718	1911-21	234	394	304
1921	703	1,252	1,022	1921-31	182	216	164
1931	885	1,468	1,186				

Derived from Appendix Table VIII.

Chart 17.

Number of Farms and Mean Size of Farm Holding, Prairie Provinces
1901-1931

Year	Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta (1)	
	No. of Farms (1)	Mean Size (acres)	No. of Farms (1)	Mean Size (acres)	No. of Farms	Mean Size (acres)
1901	32	274	13	285	9	289
1911	44	279	95	295	61	287
1921	53	275	119	368	83	353
1931	54	279	136	408	97	400

Derived from Appendix Table VIII.

(1) 000 omitted..

TABLE X.

Number of Part-time Farmers and Part-time Farm Population
in the Maritime Provinces 1881 and 1931

Province	No. of Part-time Farmers		Part-time Farm Population	
	(2) 1881	(1) 1931	(3) 1881	(3) 1931
Prince Edward Island	2,798	1,315	16,938	6,127
Nova Scotia	20,496	12,225	115,898	56,700
New Brunswick	7,623	6,859	43,635	37,091

(1) Source: 1931 Census

(2) Estimated by Dr. Lemieux on the following basis: By deducting the number of farms as shown in the 1881 Census from the number of households, the number of non-farm households was obtained -- assuming each farm represented one household. The total number of occupations divided by the number of households gave the average number of gainfully occupied persons per household. The number of non-farm households multiplied by this average gave the number of these occupations held by non-farm households. The remainder of the non-farm occupations were held by persons living on farms.

(3) The 1931 figures were obtained from the Census schedules, those for 1881 by multiplying the estimated number of part-time farmers by the average size of household. All figures for 1881 must be taken as approximate.

TABLE XI.

Average Wheat Production per Capita

1926 - 1930

Country	Bushels per Capita
Canada	43.7
Australia	24.0
Argentina	22.6
United States	7.0
France	6.5
Spain	6.3
Italy	5.4

Figures reproduced from Mackintosh, op. cit. Volume IV. pp. 7.
Data on wheat production from Statistical Year Book of the
League of Nations 1930-31, pp. 76. Population figures for 1929
from the same source.

TABLE XII.

Decennial Increases in Population and Related Agricultural
Data for the Prairie Provinces 1901-1941 (1)

(000 omitted)

Period	Population			Farm Holdings		
	Urban	Rural	Farm	No.	Occupied Acreage	Improved Acreage
1901-11	366	542	468	146	42,230	17,377
1911-21	251	391	301	55	30,290	22,893
1921-31	182	216	134	32	21,850	14,957
1931-36	-7	69	47	13	3,331	1,030
1936-41		-17				

(1) Derived from Appendix Table VIII.

(2) Based on estimates for years 1901, 1911, 1921 and actual tabulations thereafter. Minus(-) sign signifies decrease. In 1941, the combined rural and urban population of the region was actually 17,000 smaller than in 1936.

TABLE XIII.

Data Reflecting the Influence of Mechanization on Population
in the Prairie Provinces 1901-1931 (1)

Date	Value of Machinery per person engaged in Agriculture (2)	Acres of Field Crops per person engaged in Agriculture	Acres of Improved land per persons engaged in Agriculture
1901	\$ 217	No. 43	No. 67
1911	386	62	81
1916	488	72	101
1921	914	86	119
1926	763	85	119
1931	804	90	145

(1) Derived from Census tabulations, Mackintosh, op. cit. Volume IV, pp. 17-18.

(2) No correction made to eliminate influence of changing price, since no suitable index exists and the purpose is merely to illustrate the broad trend.

TABLE XIV

- 46 -
TRENDS IN
SASKATCHEWAN

Date	Average size of Farm (1) acres	Average Area of Improved Land per Farm. (1) acres	Number Gainfully Occupied per Farm. (2)
1901	285	84	--
1911	295	124	1.40
1921	368	209	1.46
1931	408	246	1.53

(1) J.F. Booth, op. cit. pp. 356.

(2) Derived from Appendix Table VIII.

TABLE XV

Increase in Population of Prairie Provinces by Birthplace

1901-1931

(000 omitted)

	<u>1901-1911</u> No.	<u>1911-1921</u> No.	<u>1921-1931</u> No.
Total Increase in Prairie Provinces	909	628	397
Increase in Prairie Province Born	222	450	376
Increase in Elsewhere Born	687	178	21
Increase in Prairie Province Born as percent of total increase	% 24	% 72	% 95

Source: M. C. MacLean, op. cit. Chapter 1, page 8.

TABLE XVI

Comparison of Specified Agricultural Trends in British Columbia
and the Prairie Provinces, 1901-1931 (1)

Year	Value of Machinery per person engaged in Agriculture		Acres of Improved Land per person engaged in Agriculture		Average Size of Farm (acres)		Number Gain- fully occupied per farm	
	B.C.	Prairie Prov.	B.C.	Prairie Prov.	B.C.	Sask.	B.C.	Sask.
1901	120	217	47	67	230	285	1.43	---
1911	148	386	28	81	150	295	1.41	1.40
1921	268	914	25	119	130	368	1.59	1.46
1931	292	804	27	145	136	408	1.69	1.53

(1) Derived from Appendix Table IX and historical tables in 1931 Census Vol. VIII.

TABLE XVII

Comparison of Trends of Rural Growth in British Columbia and
the Prairie Provinces, 1901-1931

(000 omitted)

Period	Population Increases				Farm Increases					
	Rural		Farm		No.		Occupied Acreage		Improved Acreage	
	B.C.	P.P.	B.C.	P.P.	B.C.	P.P.	B.C.	P.P.	B.C.	P.P.
1901-1911	101	543	49	468	10	146	1,043	42,230	4	17,377
1911-1921	88	395	6 (1)	384	5	55	321 (1)	30,290	66	22,893
1921-1931	23	214	16	164	4	32	681	21,850	61	14,957

(1) This increase is associated with the spread of settlement into the Peace River Block of British Columbia. This region is really a part of the agricultural economy of the Prairie Provinces.

TABLE XVIII.

Percentage Increase in Population (Total) of British
Columbia and Canada, by Decades 1871-1941 (1)

Period	Percentage Increase		Period	Percentage Increase	
	B.C.	Canada		B.C.	Canada
1871-1881	36	17	1911-1921	34	22
1881-1891	98	12	1921-1931	32	18
1891-1901	82	11	1931-1941	16	10
1901-1911	120	34			

(1) 1931 Census, Volume Table 3a and 1941 Census Release No. 20.

TABLE XIX.

Increase in Population of British Columbia by Birthplace
1901-1931
(000 omitted)

	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1931
	No.	No.	No.
Total Increase	214	132	170
Increase in B.C. born	25	73	76
Increase in Elsewhere born	189	59	94
Increase in B.C. born as percent of Total Increase	% 12	% 55	% 45

Derived from 1931 Census Volume I, Tables 23 and 24. The percentages for 1891-1901 and 1881-1891 were 18 percent and 8 percent respectively.

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